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DEBATES AROUND XENOPHOBIA IN UNIVERSITY SPACES THROUGH THE CONTEXT OF DECOLONISATION AND TRANSFORMATION

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN THE POLITICAL STUDIES DEPARTMENT, FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG.

15 March, 2017

Supervisor: Dr Julian Brown

Declaration

I Tapuwanashe Murombedzi, do hereby declare that this research is my original work and that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it has neither previously been submitted nor currently being submitted to any other University for a degree or any other award. Where someone else's work has been used, due acknowledgement has been given and reference made accordingly.

Signature: _____ Date:

24 July 2017

Dr Julian Brown: _____ Date:

24 July 2017

Abstract

The emergence of xenophobic violence is linked directly to the dissemination and development of certain ideas and perceptions. This paper will examine perceptions of xenophobic violence held by university students looking particularly at the University of the Witwatersrand. The research attempts to understand the perceptions and understandings of the university students, and how they conceptualize their individual perceptions in the context of university unrest and university transformation. These perceptions will be discussed and analysed through individual interviews in conjunction with questioners. Questions of perceived identity and the evolution of identity will be tackled in an aim to fully understand these perceptions. This focus on the tertiary institution serves to increase the analysis of xenophobic violence through the analysis of perception and debates. The dominant discourse around xenophobia is often focused on how the xenophobic attacks occurred and what drove the xenophobic attacks. However, there is limited focus on what drives xenophobia and the discourse that emerges in the xenophobic attacks. This paper will provide an analysis of this discourse to develop an understanding of the origins of xenophobic mentalities and the differing perceptions of foreign nationals held by university students.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr Julian Brown, for always having his door open whenever I ran into trouble or had questions about my research or writing. And for consistently allowing this paper to be my own work but steering me in the right direction whenever he believed I needed the push.

I would also like to thank Tinashe Murombedzi, Winnie Mutungi, Tendai Dupwa, Moira Mugweni, Gwinyai Taruvinga and Takondwa Mwasi for giving me the mental strength to see this project through.

Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my parents James and Theodora Murombedzi, for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study, and through the process of researching and writing this thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them.

Thank you.

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Abbreviations

WITS –	The University of the Witwatersrand
UCT –	University of Cape Town
FMF -	Fees Must Fall
RMF -	Rhodes Must Fall

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Put simply xenophobia is a hatred of foreigners, studies in xenophobia have linked the hatred of foreigners to; the fear of the loss of social and identity and status, a threat to one's economic success, and a way of assuring oneself of the security of the boundaries in times of crisis (Kosaka, 2014). Mogekwu (2005) states that people that act in a xenophobic manner have little to no knowledge of the people they hate. In ignorance xenophobes, do not know how to treat the people thus they see them as a threat. Xenophobia, in the South African context therefore, may derive from the feelings held by certain citizens that non-South Africans pose a threat to their individual rights and identity (Mogekwu, 2005). The manifestation of xenophobia limits the ability to attain social cohesion, peaceful coexistence and good governance. South Africa as a party to international human rights and various humanitarian treaties has an obligation to combat xenophobia with the use of both legal and moral force. Xenophobia although not a uniquely South African occurrence has taken a markedly racial form in its manifestation in South Africa; with the violence being directed at particularly black migrants from around the African continent.

With the recent increases of xenophobia in South Africa, it has been noted that there must be an open dialogue surrounding the nature of these attacks and the reasoning behind the initial emergence in 2008 and re-emergence in 2015. In addition, the most recent attacks on foreign nationals emerged at a time when university students began pushing for social change, for the decolonisation of all South African tertiary institutions through the transformation of the curriculum. The following research aims to investigate how a section of university-going youth in South Africa view, understand and define the phenomena of violence against foreign black Africans. The research will further investigate how these differences are negotiated by students at the University of the Witwatersrand in the era of university unrest and calls for social transformation. The nature of students and the diversity of students in tertiary institutions geared this research project to look primarily at the debates amongst intellectuals in the tertiary institutions.

Attempting to understand the range of perceptions of xenophobia held by students will allow for a better understanding of the way they perceive negotiating difference in the age of transformation. Transformation has been at the forefront of South African universities with the *Rhodes Must Fall* and *Fees Must Fall*. However, at the same time as the emergence of these movements, there has been the re-emergence of violence against foreign black

nationals. Both the *Fees Must Fall* (FMF) and *Rhodes Must Fall (RMF)* informally attempted to address and negotiate the question of differences, most explicitly in the discussion of the inclusive[1] nature of both movements; however, it appears that this was only discussed at the surface level.

The focus of the research is in the attitudes and understandings of university students and on identifying what might influence these students' attitudes and understandings of xenophobia, and the xenophobic violence that occurred in South Africa in 2008 and 2015. This research will attempt to see if the students adhere to the existing definitions of xenophobia or if they redefine xenophobia based on exposure to different people and various forms of education. Often xenophobia is understood solely as violent acts perpetrated by locals on foreign nationals. However, xenophobia and xenophobic forms of violence are not limited to physical acts of violence but include actions that foster feelings of isolation and exclusion for the victims. This paper will examine the perceptions and understandings and debates around xenophobia and to understand the experiences of university students inside the university space and outside the university space. The debates will be focused on individual perceptions and limited to the university spaces as well as collective perceptions within the university space.

This focus on the tertiary institution serves to ameliorate the analysis of xenophobic violence. The dominant discourse around xenophobia is often focused on how the xenophobic attacks occurred and what drove the xenophobic attacks. There is limited focus on what drives xenophobia and the discourse that emerges in the xenophobic attacks. This paper will provide an analysis of this discourse to develop a more enlightened understanding of the origins of xenophobic mentalities, through understanding the differing perceptions of foreign nationals held by university students.

The research is not assuming or insinuating that the South African citizens, students or the institutions are Xenophobic. However, the aim of the study is to understand where international students position themselves in the institution because of existing xenophobia outside of campus and around certain areas in South Africa and to what extent these outside views result in a perceived view of foreigners that travel outside of their home countries for work or employment.

[1] The inclusive aims of the protests were to include all students both internationals and local in the goals of the protests.

Research Objective

The objective of this research is to investigate the emerging debates around xenophobia and violence against black foreign African nationals. The research aims to analyse and theorise the emerging discourse and existing understandings and perceptions of students at Wits University, surrounding the increased xenophobic violence and discourses of xenophobia. Furthermore, this research will attempt to understand how these differences are negotiated around the existing debates and movements calling for the decolonisation and the transformation of tertiary education in South Africa. These discussions will be at the forefront of the proposed research.

Harris (2002) states that the term xenophobia is commonly used to denote a strong dislike of foreigners, and that xenophobia is a negative attitude towards foreigners. However, she posits that by framing xenophobia as an attitude there is limited comment and analysis of the consequences of or the effects of that mind-set of hatred and fear or general dislike of foreigners. She states that this is a misleading definition of xenophobia as xenophobia in contemporary South Africa is not limited to a fear or dislike of foreigners but is more far-reaching (Harris, 2002). Thus, Harris is arguing that the definition presented that xenophobia is ultimately the product of fear of foreigners in certain areas is flawed, as there are various other aspects to the emergence of xenophobia violence and attitudes that are not limited to a general fear. The far-reaching hypothesis presented by Harris on what characterise xenophobia provide an avenue to understand from different perspectives. However, similarly presents the argument of xenophobia as being monolithic and uniform but fail to resent a clear why to why there is xenophobic violence.

Because of this the research will attempt to problematize the term xenophobia and seek to explore the students' own definitions. Furthermore, the research will analyse how students develop their own attitudes towards existing "xenophobic" sentiments.

Importance of the Study

This research will examine the pattern of the development and evolution of the perceptions held by students of xenophobia and foreign nationals. The focus is to understand how the existing perceptions that the students hold are informed, where they are developed and under which conditions they are altered. This research further aims to understand if being in the

university setting alters the way students engage with the subject of xenophobia and xenophobic violence.

Although various studies examine the nature of xenophobia and the characteristics of xenophobia. There remains a dearth of supporting evidence in relation to the angle of examining the university setting and how university students engage and perceive these characteristics. Given the turbulent context of the universities during the time the research was conducted, various debates, ideas and beliefs emerged amongst the entire student population. This research brings forward these ideas and differences that emerge to create an understanding of the existing and evolving perceptions of black foreign nationals and xenophobia that emerged during the university unrest.

Research Question

The study is formed around the following questions:

How do university-going youth in South Africa, particularly those at the University of the Witwatersrand, analyse and understand the increasing emergence of public violence against foreign African nationals? How do they contextualise these understandings within the on-going debates about university decolonisation and transformation?

Important Sub questions include:

1. In what manner do different racial identities play out in the discussions of xenophobia, are the reactions of different race groups (as defined by official criteria) at Wits University different when discussing xenophobia?
2. Is there a connection between decolonisation and xenophobia, how and why?
3. Does national identity play a role in the development of consciousness amongst university-going Africans? How does this identity influence the way these students perceive and engage with the xenophobic attacks?

Organisation of the study

The study will be organised into six chapters that will illustrate the way the research process was organised as well as develop a flow in the methodology and literature that attempts to answer all the questions that are presented.

Chapter 1- Introduction

This initial chapter in the research introduces the research, the aim of the study, research problem; this chapter will illustrate the way the research will be mapped. The chapter will further outline the importance of this research to the current social context through giving a brief background of the problem being deciphered.

Chapter 2 – Methodology

This chapter will provide a brief explanation of sampling and the data collection methods that were employed throughout the research. The chapter will further outline the problem encountered during the data collection process, showing a proposed sample and an actual sample.

Chapter 3– Literature review

The second chapter of the research will examine the existing literature on the topics being discussed. This chapter will outline the relevant literature that is currently circulating on issues of xenophobia. The literature will discuss; xenophobia, b- citizenship, South African exceptionalism, gender, afrophobia and inequality.

Chapter 4– Social Context

In this chapter, the social context of the university will be discussed. The first section of this chapter will look at the structure of the university, particularly examining the structure of the university populations beginning with outlining the structure of all university population across South African Universities and then narrowing it down to look at the university structures at the Wits University. The second section of this chapter will provide a summary of the FMF protest and the RMF protests this is done to give context to the following chapters.

Chapter 5 – Data Analysis

Chapter 5 presents an analysis of findings of the research. This chapter will illustrate all the findings gathered during the data collection phase. This chapter will examine the emerging themes and how these emerging themes are discussed throughout the interviews and surveys. After outlining the emerging themes this chapter will proceed to give a brief analytical discussion that will be carried on and expanded on in the following chapter.

Chapter 6 - Discussion

This discussion chapter will develop the themes and arguments that emerged and were minimally discussed in the data analysis chapter. Throughout the discussion phase, the themes will be discussed further in depth with some themes being linked with others based on

the similarity of the arguments and evidence that is presented by the respondents in the data collection phase. These themes will further be discussed against the backdrop of existing problems and social unrest that framed the xenophobic attacks of 2008, and the Transformation protest of 2015 and 2015.

Chapter 7 - Conclusions

In this chapter, the research paper concludes. This chapter will give an overview of the central argument that this research report has made. The two sections in this chapter include a summary of the chapters in this report and a broader application of the study with the use of a discussion on the link between xenophobia and decolonisation.

Chapter 2 - Methodology

The objective of this research paper is to understand the existing perceptions that are held by university students of foreign nationals and subsequently the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals. In attempting to understand this the research paper will look at understanding the way these existing perceptions develop and how they are altered within the context of the fees must fall movement and the calls to transform university spaces. The research employs qualitative research methods. In this paper, I triangulate multiple forms of qualitative data gathering and analysis. A qualitative research method discusses research that is founded on human data that has not been collected through statistical methods. These include analyses of data of historical data, as well as data from both structured and semi structured interviews. Interviews were conducted with selected individuals to get insights into individual perceptions around the existing intellectual discussions of violence against black foreign nationals. This research enables in-depth understanding of the existing attitudes and perceptions of South African university students of violence perpetrated against foreign African nationals.

Surveys

Surveys will form the initial method of data collection in this research. The research employed a survey method to develop the initial view of the themes that would emerge throughout the research. The use of surveys in qualitative research does not aim to establish frequencies; however the qualitative survey looks to find the diversity of interests of views on a given topic within the sample population. During this study, questionnaires were developed and distributed, both online and paper based, to students at the university. The use of surveys in data gathering was to establish more meaningful data and provide a more in depth analysis to the questions being asked.

Interviews

Interviews will form the second element of the methodology. Qualitative interview methodology was used to investigate the underlying social dynamics which influence xenophobia and how they emerged within the fees must fall protest and the way university students understand the protest. There are many different types of interviews and these different

types of interviews are classified by the structure that they employ. The research employed the use of semi structured interviews. Semi structured interviews involve a set list of issues that are to be addressed however, there is more flexibility in how these interviews are structured that allows the respondents to speak more broadly about the issues that are being discusses (Legard, 2003). With the semi-structured interviews, the answers are open ended which allows for the respondents to provide greater detail and illustrate the more interesting topic that should be perused. The interviews for this research posed interrogative, provocative, ideal and leading questions that were developed after the collection of surveys. The interview had fifteen questions but maintained an open-ended structure. Qualitative interviews are used to investigate underlying perceptions and delve deeper into finding out how these perceptions develop and how these perceptions were negotiated in the time of student unrest. In investigating this perception development and perception evolution the interviews investigated where international students found themselves in the protests as well as where they were placed in the protest in so doing this allows for the understanding of how both local and international individuals conceptualise xenophobia and perceive the ideas of xenophobia in this specific context.

University, in many cases, is the phase in which individuals develop a consciousness and an interest in the society around them and what takes place within these societies and how it affects them. Because of the cosmopolitan nature of Wits there were various differing perspectives and perceptions of the subject matter. In many cases university students, have been more exposed to various forms of social media and print media and this plays a role in the development of the perceptions and the formation of their opinions. The main demographic of these interviews were the university youth. These interviews looked to speak to students at the University of the Witwatersrand that are in first and second year, as well as postgraduate students that have been more exposed to the literature and discussions and developed their own attitudes and perceptions around the violence of 2008 and 2015.

Sampling

The research utilised primarily purposive sampling and snowball sampling. In purposive sampling the sample sizes may or may not be fixed prior to data collection. The nature of the sample size is dependent on the available resources and the available time, as well as the aims and objectives of the study. Snowball sampling is a type of purposive sampling. In this method of sampling willing participants refer the researcher to other individuals who might

be willing to participate in the research or can provide contributions to the research. This research employed snowball sampling to gain access to individuals that were not easy to access as well as groups that were willing to participate but that would not have been included in the research otherwise.

The surveys employed a "non-probability method" of sampling. Because of the size of the university population accessing over 30 000 students would be challenging for various reasons such as cost, accessibility, availability, and the time allowed for data collection. Thus, the surveys employed accidental sampling whereby the surveys were sent to a number students and the surveys were filled out by the willing participants. In qualitative research the final sample is not always large. However, a small sample can be a means of fully reaching a valuable analysis. The nature of the study was to understand the perceptions of the phenomenon of xenophobia held by students. This does not require a full analysis of all the students' perceptions but requires an analysis of a fair demographic that represents the student population.

This research also employed the use of semi-structured interviews. As follow up to the to the surveys. The lack of a set structure allowed the interviewees more freedom in answering the questions and further allowed the researcher an opportunity to follow a different train of questions as well as gather more information and gain further understanding of the subject matter as well as enabling the researcher to gain a more meaningful analysis of the interviews and reach a more substantial subject matter. It also enabled the researcher to develop a more meaningful analysis of the interviews. These follow u interviews were selected based on the information that emerged in the surveys. The survey responses allowed for a selection of the interview questions as well as some surveys leading to interview subjects.

Interviews themselves are not well suited for gaining relevant information from various respondents because they are time consuming and special attention needs to be given in selecting the respondents. Because of the nature of the research and having such a large sample size interviewing all the participants was a difficult task the use of surveys allowed me to use interviews and then employ the survey methods to generate a larger sample size. This was done through snow ball sampling whereby I asked the interview respondents for the names and details of willing participants that would be interested in taking part in the surveys

Process

Although this research uses interviews it is necessary to understand both the limitations that accompany the use of interviews in research and the problems that I encountered while conducting my interviews. The research circulated 55 surveys half of these surveys were paper based and the other half were online. These surveys were sent to students from each demographic of the institution however, the response was lopsided. Most of the survey respondents were local students in their final years at university.

Because of the FMF protests of 2016 I was very limited in my access to interview respondents. Many of the interviews followed from me having to email the interview schedule to students that had travelled home to allow them time to familiarise themselves with the questions and to organise for a telephonic interview. That caused problems as it did not allow me to follow the way the respondents were responding and resulted in me using a more structured interviewing method. Furthermore, the university protests of 2016 left many students refusing to be interviewed for my research as many of them believed that my research looked to paint the FMF movement as a negative movement that was characterising xenophobia.

The questions and discussions that emerged in the initial literature review assisted in the initial choice of my survey sample. This initial sample was largely looking at, black male South Africans from various provinces in the country. However, through the development of the literature and the existence of a wide array of black male South African perspectives in the existing discussion. The sample of the study was altered with the use of surveys to diversify the existing data and alter the conversation form being predominantly male to having an equal number of female students participating in the interviews. Furthermore, through the student protests of 2016 there was limited discussion of the international students and how the protests affect them as well as how within the discourse of the protest where the international students were placed and why they were placed there. The developments and the discourses in the protest broadened the scope of my respondents and altered the intended use of respondents from certain university levels to including all respondents.

The process of data collection needs constant planning and re-planning as well as reorganising the process continuously because of the volatility of the final few months of the academic year the initial plans had to be changed to achieve all the goals of the interviews and survey with the limited time frame. The 2016 student protests limited my access to certain respondents as they refused to speak to me or gave me information that could not be

utilised in the research as it was no longer in the interest of the research paper to use them. Thus, the planned data collection for the research was changed because the existing plans were no longer applicable during the protests. Despite the setbacks that I encountered because of the protests of 2016 the interviews and surveys provided an in-depth discussion and of the constantly changing and developing mind-set of students.

Response rate and obstacles encountered

Throughout the data collection process I sent out approximately 55 surveys across the university to various faculties and received in total 24 responses. Similarly, with the interview I sent out 20 interview requests and but only received responses and conducted interviews with 8 individuals from various disciplines. The population demographic that I managed to interview was predominantly international students whereas the survey respondents were majority South African National students. This response rate to the field work was a result of various factors. The first was the 2016 fees must fall protests and the impact it had on my access to students and faculty on campus. After the end of the protests gaining access to students and was increasingly difficult because of the security measures put in place. Many of the students that were willing to participate could not find a time in the period during the protests and the commencement of exams. Another obstacle to reaching students and interview subjects was that many people went home after exams finished making it difficult for me to access them. Further As the new school year commenced it became increasingly difficult to gain access to the students as they either refused to speak to me or failed to respond to the surveys and interviews with usable information.

These problems were exacerbated, because, during and after the protests my only communication with the students was through email limited physical contact limited my ability to communicate with the students and gain useful information. Thus, the data capturing process was slanted with the surveys forming 70 per cent of the data captured and the interviews forming 30 per cent of the data initially although at the beginning of the research phase the opposite was what was expected. The themes that emerged and receded to inform the direction in which my interviews went came from the surveys.

The surveys were used as a means of understanding the students' views and understandings of foreign nationals and how the students from the university conceptualise what xenophobia is and where the ideas of xenophobia stem from. Further the survey was used as a means. The survey was also employed to begin the discussion of the fees must fall protests and how the

representation of foreign students was achieved. Although this was touched on in the survey it would be further explored in the interviews.

Chapter 3 - Literature Review

This section reviews the current literature that shapes the paper. To begin with this paper will examine what the notions of xenophobia are current in the secondary literature, and the role race plays in the emergence of 'xenophobic violence'. The use of the term xenophobia provides the dominant understandings of the violence against foreign black nationals and in so doing emphasise on the notions of xenophobia the rooted of the problems as emerging from elsewhere in the social context. It will then go into an overview of the roles class, gender, national identity, and the notions of South African exceptionalism have in the framing of violence against foreign nationals, as well as what role the state and its institutions play in the formation of a culture of xenophobia. This manner of organisation of the literature review serves to describe the complexities of xenophobia and identity formation, and the contemporary debates on the nature of xenophobia and the role of citizenship in xenophobic violence.

In understanding the nature of violent acts perpetrated against foreign African nationals understanding the violence that has existed in South Africa is essential. The exceptionalism of South Africa illustrates the nature in which a culture of violence emerged and the role played by the state in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa in the development and evolution of these violent actions. The term xenophobia has been attributed to the violent attacks however this literature review illustrates that the nature of these attacks is not limited to xenophobia but is intertwined with too many other issues, such as citizenship and gender.

A body of literature by; Kupe and Hassim, Pillay, Landau and various others, emerged after the 2008 xenophobic attacks. This literature provides an important frame in understanding and conceptualising the existing debates on xenophobia. Hassim and Kupe (2008) provide a framework for the outbreak of xenophobic attacks and begin the academic analysis on what caused and what resulted in the outbreak of xenophobic violence from various perspectives. Although the books provide an important framework the point of departure of this literature review is in the examination of citizenship, xenophobia and the ideas of South African exceptionalism.

Citizenship

Sally Perbody (2001) outlines that after democratisation post-apartheid South Africa aimed at creating a colour blind society founded on the ideals of a rainbow nation. However, despite these efforts the attitudes of South Africans towards migration have taken a longer time to change. Post-apartheid South Africa has been characterised by xenophobic actions as well as xenophobic policies as a means of discouraging the influx of undocumented and illegal immigrants (Peberdy, 2001). South Africa's immigration policies echo the policies of the 1991 Alien Control Act, however there have been slow efforts to alter this immigration (Peberdy, 2001), The immigration policy of South Africa does not allow for there to be unskilled or semi-skilled workers migrating because they are searching for work. Skilled workers may only immigrate on a short-term visa, to ensure there is no poaching of skills and that South African citizens are first preference. Perbody outlines that immigration restrictions target nationalities, for example Zimbabwe and Mozambique and other countries within the SADC region. These restrictions include application fees and bank statements for longer term stays (Peberdy, 2001) The proposed aim of these restrictions is to reduce the number of people "overstaying" in South Africa however the repercussions of this has been an increase in illegal and undocumented immigrants.

In this context, it is arguing by many advocacy groups that immigrants that have no status are individuals that do not have legal status within a country, however, the process of becoming an undocumented immigrant is precarious. It can come from rejected claims, lack of official documents and student, work and visitor's visas might have expired. Many scholars have then begun referring to this as uncertain status to illustrate ones' legal position (Nyers, 2010). Nyers argues that these positions in relation to their status are ambiguous and often not fully understood, with individuals being referred to as illegal and with a failure to consider the processes that have resulted in them having this status. The understandings of what is deemed as illegal falls under a grey area, as people often move in and out of different forms of legal or illegal status (Nyers, 2010). Nyers discussion of citizenship challenges the mainstream ideas of what constitutes citizenship. This research does not agree in full with these notions however believes that this forms a different avenue to analyse and understand the controversial arguments around citizenship.

Notions of citizenship and belonging are constantly being challenged by the acts of citizenship that are undertaken by asylum seekers and refugees, Nyers (2010) outlines that politics is a practice that uses the voice of individuals and the collective and makes it possible to perform certain acts (Nyers, 2010). The voice and the act that Nyers stresses here is the act

and the voice of citizenship. Isin, as quoted in Nyers states that acts of citizenship can be performed anonymously or in public. Intended or accidental, individual or collective. Citizenship is not the status of the individual in the state, as a documented citizen or refugee and non-status migrants, is the act of citizenship. Citizenship, in Nyer's explanation, is not the existence of rights and responsibilities, but it the acts that produce active citizens. The argument presented argues that the formal understanding of citizenship results in the political voice of subjects being limited and an exclusionary nature of the state emerging (Nyers, 2010).

Xenophobia

There have many discussions attempting to answer the question of why xenophobia occurred in South Africa, in 2008/9 and in 2015 and whether these are unique phenomena. Michael Neocosmos (2006) outlines that outbursts of xenophobia are not a new experience throughout the world however, they emerge as emerge because of the assumption of the nature of foreign nationals in South Africa. He believes that the recent increase of this violence is a violation of human rights based on the stereotypes attached to these individuals. Based on these being deemed as stereotypes it becomes evident that the increasing xenophobic violence is a form of discrimination that is like racism. Any non-national and non-citizen of South Africa is liable to be affected by these forms of discrimination (Neocosmos, 2006). These forms of discriminatory treatment such as language [the labelling of immigrants as illegal] are often a result of the discourses surrounding the economic situation of South Africa, as a country battling a large inequality gap, therefore having a population that is living in poverty results in violent attitudes towards foreign nationals (Neocosmos, 2006). Neocosmos illustrates that the narrative around the depiction of migrants in the South African media dehumanises the foreign nationals. This is done through the terms "illegal" and "immigrant" being used in the same discourse, and this results in the reasons for migration becoming indistinguishable. Sections of the South African academy have had difficulty in naming the 2008 violence as xenophobia. Dodson (2010) argues that the naming of these attacks as xenophobia was labelling done for media purposes. The labelling of the attacks on foreign nationals by their national identity essentialises the phenomena that occurred in South Africa, or the assumption that one attacked another because of nationality and access to jobs. This is argued by Dodson,

a result of the imposition of colonial national identity. Individuals act violently towards other African nationals because of the socially constructed notions of identity that have been altered to mean the citizens are the subjects thus translating to violent actions based on dehumanising the other that does not fall into these categorisations of South African citizen or subject (Dodson, 2010). Human Rights Watch states that the government discourse surrounding foreign migrants inflates the problems of violent conflict, as they suggest that the growth of foreign nationals has resulted in lower employment for a handful of South Africans, the increase in crime rates and the spread of certain diseases. However, these government is not a new phenomenon. It has been a dominant discourse in South Africa prior to the advent of liberation (Human Rights Watch, 1998). Neocosmos's argument is not to state that the state and politicians are the only ones to blame for the outbreak of xenophobic violence. He is however posing that argument that the state and governments involvement in the dissemination of discriminatory views cannot be absent in the discussion of the what characterises and constitutes xenophobia.

Nyamnjoh (2010) outlines that xenophobic attitude amongst South African people have increased in the years following the first democratic elections. Human Rights Watch posits that xenophobic attitudes have increased as some South African individuals and collective's view of foreign nationals, per Nyamnjoh are slated with being responsible for increased violence based on the view that foreign nationals are responsible for increased crime and violence in the communities (Nyamnjoh, 2010). Jonathan Crush (2008), in his analysis of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa, argues that xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in the world. Xenophobia has been a constant experience of the some of the South African collective prior to the more recent violence that occurred in 2008 and 2015. Black foreigners in Crush's analysis have been lumped together with the status of illegal immigrant. Views of illegal immigrants as being part and parcel of the escalating crime rates in South Africa were exacerbated by the views of immigrants that was brought forward by various government ministers and media houses. Crush outlines that there is a link between the media and the increased xenophobic sentiments and negative perceptions of foreign nationals (Southern African Migration Project, 2008). Media in their analysis often reports inflammatory and unsupported statistics and false reports without further analysis or investigation. Arguments surrounding mainstream media outlines that the representation of migrants are correlated to the local's perceptions of media. Nyamnjoh (2010) also states that contemporary mainstream media is filled with stories in which immigrants are demonised, belittled and discriminated

against. Increased incidents of anti-immigration prejudice are common however not recognised as being linked to underlying feelings of xenophobia (Nyamnjoh, 2010).

Crush states that the existing anti-immigrant policies that have been entrenched in the South African political sphere crush states have been carried through the South African Home Affairs offices depiction of "illegal migrants" as being a hindrance to the goals of the reconstruction and development programme (RDP), and South Africa's developmental goals. Crush (2008) posits that the xenophobic post-apartheid legislature is entrenched in the role home affairs had in the destruction of the SADC free movement initiative (Southern African Migration Project, 2008).

The discourse surrounding the dominant South African culture and the experiences of post-apartheid South Africa is that foreign individuals have no right to have a voice in these circumstances as they do not possess that shared history. The history of South Africa is unique and to a degree it is different from the history of other African countries that possess a shared history of colonialism. Thus, the foreign students were unable to speak up when the argument of the apartheid struggles arose however they believed that they should have been given a voice on the discussions of decolonising and transforming the structure of universities. This involvement was limited because of the continued historical identity that is attached to foreigners in South Africa. The identity of foreign students often rests on the identity that is given to foreigners. The assumption of foreigners in South Africa are individuals that increase crime rates in South Africa, furthermore the foreigners that migrate to South Africa often spread diseases, the assumption of Africa outside of Africa is an impoverished area that does not have adequate healthcare and should be kept out of South Africa (Neocosmos, 2006).

South African exceptionalism

South African exceptionalism stems from an attempt to establish and explain the differences between South Africa and the rest of Africa (Shaefer:1953). Arguments surrounding violence in South Africa need to consider the exceptional nature of the violence in South Africa. The history of urban, rural and mining town violence differentiates South Africa from its colonial counterparts. Kynoch (2008) outlines that when Johannesburg became an established mining

region; there were high levels of migration that resulted in ethnic conflicts between the miners and racial conflict between the miners and their supervisors. (Kynoch, 2008) Lazarus further outlines that there is an assumption within South Africa and the western world that the ills that befall the rest of Africa will not have any effect on South Africa (Lazarus, 2004).

This perception of the nature of South Africa is premised on differentiation based on categories (Lazarus, 2004). Kynoch states that in the history of South African commerce and social life there has always been different category formation from ethnic identity to gang membership (Kynoch, 2008). These assumptions about South Africa as being exceptional in Africa come from the exceptional nature of the organisation of social life and the self-imposed disconnection from the rest of Africa that results in the view that South Africa can solve the problems of development faced by other African countries. (Lazarus, 2004)

In Citizen and Subject Mamdani states that South Africa needs to be relocated back into the African experience. Mamdani stated that South African exceptionalism is a widely shared prejudice that whilst South Africa is geographically a part of Africa, it is not so, weather culturally, politically, or economically. Mamdani further notes that South African exceptionalism is the view that the South African experience is shaped by the initiatives of the European settler, and is therefore no longer attached to Africa or a native of Africa (Mamdani, 1998).In Africa many countries are the result of colonialism, South Africa however, is the result of both colonialism and apartheid. The apartheid regime of South Africa educated its people in a Eurocentric manner that played a role in the way some South Africans view and engage with other African countries. The system entrenched the inferiority of black Africans that extended to the entirety of the continent and some of these views of the inferiority and the misinformation of other African countries have become internalised by a handful of individuals.

The most recent views of South African exceptionalism surfaced around the time President Zuma stated that *"we cannot think like Africans in Africa"* (Oneale, 2013) statements such as these reinforce the ideas of the superiority of South Africa. South African exceptionalism outlines how South Africa is treated like an exceptional country in Africa based on its history. South Africa was the last country in Africa in the 20th century to break away from racial segregation and colonial ideals (Dlakavu, 2013). Further per Magaziner and Jacobs (2012) the treatment of South Africa as exceptional emerges from the stance of South Africans as being a rainbow nation and the reconciliatory nature of the transition to democracy. However,

some authors view this perceived exceptionalism as misplaced, positing that there are aspects of American and European history that bear resemblances to the policies of racial segregation in South Africa. South Africa's economy, despite being the largest in Africa, is commonplace in the global economy. According to Magaziner and Jacobs, the views of South African exceptionalism often fail to acknowledge that the existing problems are issues that are not unique to the South African experience (Jacobs, 2012).

Magaziner and Jacobs (2012), further outline that that the violence that has been observed in South Africa is often characterised through placing emphasis on the country's history and not examining all other contributing factors to the sporadic acts of violence. Violence and the notion of South African exceptionalism stem from the high levels of migrant labour and how this resulted in the increase of urban violence particularly within the informal settlements. The apartheid state invested significant resources to the incarceration of black and coloured workers within the urban areas. Further the existence of state sponsored violence in informal settlements resulted in little room for the rule of law. This exceptional experience within the South African townships and with migrants labour fostered the violence that is characterises the rule of law within the informal settlements.

Kamwanyah (2015) posits that the views of South African exceptionalism emerge from the view that the South African experience is a unique experience. Problems of unemployment, poverty and crime are different from those that are experienced throughout the rest of the continent. Kamwanyah (2015) outlines that the views of South African exceptionalism result in views that allow the emergence of xenophobic violence and xenophobic sentiments. Such as the view that other African nationals are here to destroy an existing way of life that is unique to the South African experience (Kamwanyah, 2015). This is further elaborated on by Dlakavu (2013), where she states that South African exceptionalism stems from an othering of the rest of Africa and Africans. This othering is a result of holding a view that South Africa is in Africa but it is unlike the rest of Africa. She elaborates further by providing examples of statements such as "they are African" or "they live in Africa" these statements result in a deeper separation between South Africa and the rest of the African continent. South African exceptionalism however does not stop at South Africa, but extends throughout the rest of Africa with the rest of Africa viewing South Africans as being exceptional in both a negative and a positive light (Dlakavu, 2013).

Inequality and Poverty link to xenophobia

Gelb (2008) posits that the poverty and inequality levels of in South Africa play a role in the development of xenophobic attitudes and actions. Poverty and inequality are distinctly different issues and attempts at alleviation should be approached differently, however despite their differences both poverty and inequality are deeply entrenched in the socio-political realities of the South African population. The levels of inequality and poverty in South Africa remain equally high with slight decreases as measures are implemented in attempts to alleviate poverty, however, Gelb outlines that levels of government involvement in the reduction of poverty has increased in comparison to that of inequality. Questions around closing the large inequality gap in South Africa have not been adequately addressed and inequality levels have continued to increase in the past decade (Gelb, 2008). In Gelb's analysis, he illustrates that the problems of inequality can only be addressed through the employment of asset building measures that ensure the continued existence of an income for the individuals, the measures for addressing inequality have proven more difficult for government implementation as they have shifted from individual based income and service alleviation to community based growth and development structures. Gelb further states that for the measures to work successfully there must be dual cooperation and capacity between the receiver and the provider of assistance. However, he outlines that despite the understanding of what needs to be done to redress the levels of inequality in South Africa inequality has increased and has increased along racial lines. This inequality comes from limited government expenditure on certain services, such as employment opportunities, however this, as Gelb analyses, comes from the educational inequalities despite increased government expenditure on education (Gelb, 2008).

Afrophobia and Negrophobia

The rights that are enshrined in the Constitution and likewise the Bill of Rights hold that every individual is entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, belief and opinion and freedom from slavery. According to Koenane and Maphunye the Bill of Rights suggests that the South African democracy is a mature democracy in which all rights are respected equally. However, in the 2000s, the reality of violence and hatred and negative attitudes towards foreigners, specifically targeting African migrants from various parts of the African continent. Illustrated that the situations in South African towns and townships illustrated a difference in the ideals of the Bill of Rights and democratic progress. Although these

phenomena have been labelled as xenophobia Koenane and Maphunye (2015) argues that the acts of violence are more linked to an idea of "afrophobia" as the nature of the violence was black on black violence directed at other Africans. Mudimbe, as quoted in Koenane and Maphunye (2015), posits that the negative consequences of colonialism in Africa is the creation of a negative view of other African nationals (Koenane, 2015,). He uses the example of South Africa's history of colonialism and racial segregation resulting in a form of hatred of other African nationals from North of the Limpopo (Phiri, 2009).

During the apartheid era, many Africans that migrated to South Africa worked in the mines and factories. This dynamic might have changed since the end of apartheid; however, few South Africans went beyond their borders in search for work, and thus the result of this was that few South Africans understood the socio-economic, cultural and political lifestyles of Africans beyond the Limpopo. Since the end of apartheid, a vast number of people have migrated to South Africa searching for asylum or jobs. The ruling party was tolerant of the influx, Gathogo and Phiri (2009) posit that the ruling party's toleration came as a repayment of the debt owed to the neighbours for the assistance that was offered during the liberation struggle of South Africa (Phiri, 2009). For the South African poor, however this influx resulted in the immigrants being used as scapegoats for the countries socio-economic problems, such as crime, unemployment, and inequality. Andile Mngxitama (2008), states that the xenophobic violence of 2008 and the responses to the violence illustrated that foreigners were already facing harassment from state institutions (Mngxitama, 2008). However, the disenfranchised black South African population felt compelled to further complete the process of disenfranchising the African foreigners. In this sense the process of the emergence of xenophobia the state and governments' assistance in quelling the problems of xenophobia has resulted in a circular manner (Mngxitama, 2008). Mngxitama (2008) refers to the squatter settlements that exist in South Africa as permanent refugee camps, and suggest that the people living in these squatter settlements were excluded from the benefits of democracy. The state of South Africa sends the message that black Africans are undesirable as the black individuals living in the squatter settlements continue to struggle with violence and hopelessness whilst being privy to the decisions made by the state (Mngxitama, 2008).

Furthermore, Mngxitama argues that the statement held by many people during the attacks was "we are not all like that" (Mngxitama, 2008) results from a distancing of the middle class and the "barbaric other" in a way it results in the creation of another by polarising oneself and certain groups from the identity of another group. Because of this the term

xenophobia is the incorrect and inappropriate term to use when discussing the outbreak of violence against black foreign nationals. He proposes the use of the term negrophobia, in which he terms as a dislike of blackness a disease of the mind. However, he illustrates that this is linked with a dislike of the poor because the poor illustrates the negative attributes of blackness. The violence against of black people against black people against black is not a new phenomenon. What is new however is the externalising to foreign individuals. Xenophobic and negrophobic actions are attributed to the South African socio economic system. The unequal divisions of labour that came with colonialism resulted in an unequal distribution of access to work, both skilled and unskilled that further resulted in conflict amongst black South Africans over labour and living. Negrophobia is a result of historical process and psychological colonisation (Mngxitama, 2008).

Pumla Gqola (2008) outlines that within the discourse of the analysis of xenophobia and xenophobic violence exists a narrative of violence. Xenophobia in South Africa arose from this narrative of violence and the narrative that there are people that can be thrown away at any given time. The poor, Black, black lesbians and African immigrants are the group of people that are understood as "throw away" people. In the argument of the xenophobic narrative the African immigrant is the throw away person and is identified as such through their bodies (through markers such as pigmentation) this identification allows the marking of who belongs and who does not. These identification processes emerge after arguments of apartheid colonialism and slavery, after the emergence of race science and white supremacy (Gqola, 2008). The nature of the attacks moves away from simply being xenophobia to negrophobia as Gqola and Mngxitama argue that no one is attacking wealthy foreigners of European origin as to be rich is to be white and there is no white kwerekwere (Mngxitama, 2008). Gqola posits that attacks on wealthy foreigners are unthinkable because of the nature of the attacks. The attacks are sexualised, class based, and racialized the racialized manner of the attacks emerges from the perception of the value of blackness against the value of blackness. The South African market has failed to create sustainable jobs. Migrant labour is racialized because in within a political economy that is based on bodies versus the mind the black African body is seen to contribute bodies and menial labour, whereas the European migrant provides intelligence (Gqola, 2008).

The racialized violence of xenophobia does not only come from the violent attacks but emerges from the communications and narratives that surround African immigrants, such as travel policies and practices at Home Affairs and legal practices. Gqola (2008) outlines that

the existing narratives amongst individuals and the influence of the media influence the way foreigners and locals are perceived and the actions that are taken against them by locals. Gqola puts forward the example of Nigerians being criminals and drug smugglers and the local South Africans feeling that they must act against them because the assumption is that the state has failed to take any action against them. However, within this narrative that incites violence there is little to no differentiation between the "Nigerians" and the "locals" all are nameless and identity less aside from the negative group identity that has been assigned to them in comparison to their European counterparts that are given individual identities by the media (Gqola, 2008).

The views that developed because of colonialism create a negative attitude and perception amongst Africans, directed at other Africans. These negative attitudes are described as afrophobic and negrophobic, the term negrophobia is coined as the violent attacks of 2008 were characterised by lack on black violence. This violence illustrated that there is an existing social, economic and political disenfranchisement of the black individual in Africa. The violence often occurred in squatter camps which Mngxitama argues hold the disenfranchised population of South Africa that does not benefit from the gains of democracy. Mngxitama proposes that the term negrophobia be used to define these violent attacks as he believed that these attacks are not attacks on the foreign African but on the African and blackness. Gqola illustrates that afrophobia and negrophobia emerge from the narratives that surround blackness and class, the narratives often argue the perceived value of blackness but do not look at the real value of blackness. These perceptions thus result in the emergence of the narrative of violence.

Gender

Nationalism is a gendered discourse thus it must be understood with an understanding of gender power relations. Anne McClintock (1997) argues that the discourse of nationalism is often gendered based on the relationships to political power and mechanisms of violence (McClintock, 1997). The dominant discourse in the of South Africa is that of nationalism and the role that nationalism played in the creation of the black man's Africa (Erlank, 2003) away from colonial interference. Much of the rhetoric surrounding the nationalism and national identity of Africa is saturated in masculinity. This rhetoric emerged in South Africa during the anti-apartheid period and permeated into the existing rhetoric of post–apartheid South

Africa that is reluctant to involve women in politically driven movements. Throughout the history of Africa, the nation has been an oppressive instrument in which social differences were invented and preformed, these social differences were categorised by race between the white individuals and the black individuals as well as by gender (McClintock, 1997). Nationalism thus became the instrument that solidified the identities of people and in turn how these individuals identified and categorised the people around them, because of these forced identifications nations and in turn nationalism institutionalised gender differences. McClintock further argues that within the emergence and the maintenance of nations and the national identity the rights of women are vastly different, not only in practice but in theoretical discussions of anti-colonial, anti-apartheid nationalist discourse there is seldom mention of the role women play and the impact that nationalism has on women (McClintock, 1997).

Meintjes (2004) outlines that in apartheid South Africa gender played a fundamental role in the reproduction of economic and political relations in South Africa; this was different for black and white individuals. Because of the rural and urban divide playing a large role in the economic productivity of South Africa the divide between men and women was a key element in maintain the rural work was the labour of women. Meintjes illustrates that this maintenance of women's labour power was a result of increased migrant labour in the mines and the need for the rural labour force to be maintained. Despite the glaring differences between white women and black women in apartheid South Africa both women were bound to the hierarchical structures of gender relations and the traditions and custom attached to gender relations. Women have often been reduced to children, as by law they were not awarded adult status. There remains a gender and sexual dimension in the competition between South Africans and African Foreigners, with foreign men being blamed for flashing their success and stealing women from local (Dodson, 2010). The gender dimension to this competition rests on the fact that migration into South Africa remains dominated by men this has per Mentjies been a constant in the economic life span of South Africa. Dodson (2010) illustrates that however this gendered competition and gender dominated migration contributes to the perception that foreign men are developing intimate relationships with South African women.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided a holistic analysis of the literature on xenophobia, however this analysis has also provided an outline and a discussion on the substantial debates on the mature of xenophobia and what characterises the existence and the emergence of xenophobic violence. Citizenship and who can be characterised as a citizen impact the manner I which certain non-citizens are perceived in certain contexts. The chapter outlined the definitions of xenophobia and how xenophobic violence is spurred on by the ideas of citizenship and the existence of boarders that determine where one belongs. However, South African exceptionalism, Gender, inequalities, afrophobia and negrophobia all characterise the nature of xenophobic violence. These three discussions outlined that the universal view of xenophobia being a general dislike of foreigners is flawed because of the nature of the xenophobic violence that emerged in South Africa as well as the various social factors that result in a frustrated and angry population.

The discussion on the various factors that characterise xenophobic violence illustrate that the analysis of the violence cannot be limited to one view. As there are many tiers to the emergence of violence, the views that South Africa is an exceptional state in Africa allow for the development of xenophobia ideas amongst individuals. However, the use of subtle statement that echo xenophobic sentiments justify the views that encompass South African exceptionalism. The discussions of afrophobia and negrophobia allow for a deeper understanding of the nature of the violence and way the violence emerges in the areas in which it does. Socio economic disparities that exist in South Africa characterise violent responses from a disenfranchised population. Gender and Inequality illustrate two elements of xenophobic violence, the literature reviewed argues of the gendered nature of xenophobic violence and the labour disputes. Whereas inequality and poverty illustrate the state of the disenfranchised people and how these inequalities are represented in the South African society. This chapter reviewed these existing debates to develop a foundation on the discussions of xenophobia and to create a point of departure.

Chapter 4 - Social Context

Introduction

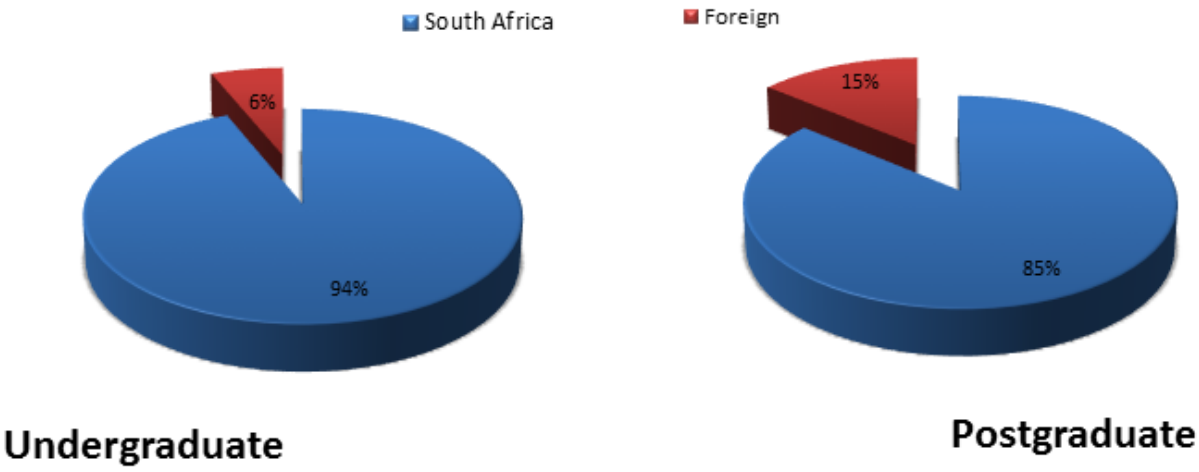
This chapter will outline the most recent statistics on the demographics of Wits University, looking at how many students attend the university in total and how these students are divided based on race, gender and nationality. The way the student's race is divided in South Africa places all individuals that fall into the previously disadvantaged groups as being black. The aim of this chapter is to give a context of the way the university population is structured and how this played a role in the way the FMF protests were structured. The chapter gives a brief background of the RMF protests and the fees must fall protests as this is the current context of the university during the time in which the research was conducted. The first section of this chapter will outline the structure of South African universities and break down the way these demographics are organised. This section will then further outline the demographics of Wits University and look at the breakdown of school fees and fee payments. The final section of this chapter will give a summary of the RMF movement and the following FMF protests.

South African University Demographics

The result of a country-wide analysis of the demographics of students at all universities shows that the populations are usually diverse comprising of Indian, African, white and coloured students. The survey outlined that there has been a steady growth in the enrollment of African students in the universities, in 2013 enrollment of African students increased from 64 per cent to 70 per cent. The representation of African people in South African population was 80 percent in 2013. Illustrating that there is a 10 percent proportional representation between the population of South Africa and the student population (Africa, Council on Higher Education South, 2013).

The survey illustrated that more women were actively engaged in tertiary education in 2013. Whereby women constituted approximately 51% of the population and 50% for the 20-24 old year age group of the population (Africa, Council on Higher Education South, 2013). The imbalance in enrolments in higher education has shifted to favour women, especially compared to the population statistics. The international population at universities across South Africa is not a large population, because South African students comprises of ninety-

three percent of the students that are enrolled in South African universities. The overall population of the foreign students that were enrolled in South African institutes for higher education in 2013 was at average seven percent (Africa, Council on Higher Education South, 2013)



Source- Council for Higher Education South Africa 2013

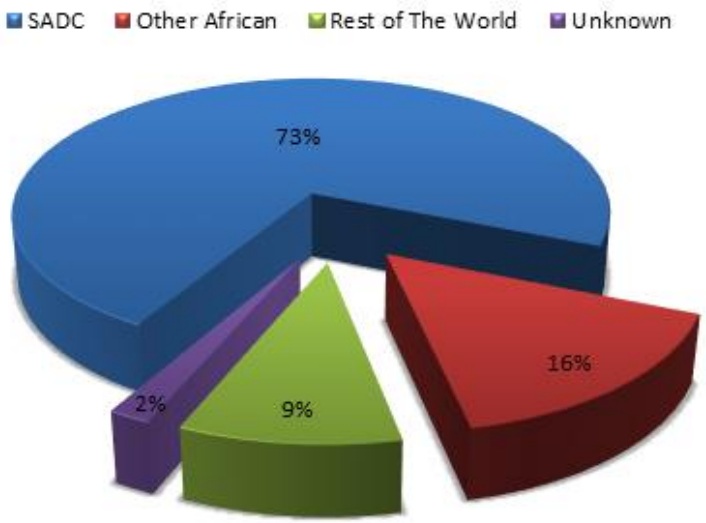
Wits University Demographics

Wits University is divided into five faculties that consist of thirty-three schools and approximately 30 service departments. The faculties at Wits are Commerce, Law and Management; Engineering and the Built Environment; Health Sciences; Humanities; and Science. Within these faculties the total student intake in 2015 at the University was placed at over 30 thousand. Of these thirty thousand approximately 35 percent were postgraduate students (The University of the Witwatersrand, 2015). Since the end of the apartheid era, Wits University has aimed at fostering integration within their campuses. This has been done through using enrolment methods that seek to increase the diversity of the university population.

The 2015 annual report outlined that enrolment at Wits based on gender was at 54 percent of the students were female (approximately 18 thousand) and 45 percent of the students enrolled were male (approximately 15 thousand) with only 0.01 percent of students that defined themselves as other (approximately 3) students. These gender statistics illustrate that there is a higher female population at the university and the statistics outlined earlier illustrate that this is the case nationwide. The university's racial structures as drawn out in the annual

report outline that the racial composition at Wits University as of 2015 is divided into black and white students. The percentage of white students that attend the university was at 28 percent, whilst the percentage of black students was 78 percent. The report further broke down these demographics into smaller groups to create a further understanding of the universities population. The report broke down the population as such: African 60 percent, Indian 13 percent, Asian 0.66 percent, coloured 3 percent, and white 21 percent (The University of the Witwatersrand, 2015).

The foreign students at Wits University are the students that are not South African citizens and do not hold permanent resident status. The largest population of foreign students at Wits come from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. These students from the SADC region consist of 73 percent of the university's foreign students' population. However, South Africa also attracts small numbers of students from the rest of the African continent and other parts of the world, sometimes through student exchange programmes. The 2015 annual report outlines that 96.04% of the total student enrollment came from South Africa (The University of the Witwatersrand, 2015). The remaining 1.27 of the university population came from other countries in the world.



Source- Council for Higher Education South Africa 2013

Average tuition fees

The tuition fees at the University differ based on various variables such as the faculty, residence costs and the costs at the dining hall. The average tuition fees also vary based where the student is, from. International students' fees are often higher and should be paid

earlier on in the year, while the South African locals could organise a payment plan and pay for their tuition throughout the year. The average annual fees for a degree in medicine or science is R59,000. Whereas the average cost of a BA degree or a degree in commerce law and management is R44, 000. Students from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) member countries pay annual local tuition fees and related costs. 75% of the annual tuition fee for international students is payable prior to registration along with the costs of on-campus accommodation, as well as other related costs. The remaining 25 percent of the fees is payable by the end of March for undergraduate students and a month after registration for the post graduate students (University of the Witwatersrand).

The 2015 FMF protests did not mark the beginning of the fees must fall protest at South African tertiary institutions. Historically black and disadvantaged universities had been protesting the universities proposed and implemented fee increases from 1994 until 2015 and onwards. The 2015 fees must fall protests marked the moment when the movement included both the previously disadvantaged schools as well as the previously advantaged schools all uniting for the cause of unreasonable fee increments. The on-going protests at the historically black and disadvantaged schools garnered little support and little attention from the media, in contrast to the historically white and advantaged schools garnering high levels of support, both local and international, and media attention. This differing in the response to the protests is an indicator of the inequalities that are still existing in post-apartheid South African societies (Waghid, 2016)

2015- 2016 University unrest

The FMF and RMF protests were founded on the existence of socio-economic disparities in South Africa. The incident that sparked the beginning of the 2015 protests was Maxwele a student at University of Cape Town (UCT)throwing faeces at the statue of Cecil Rhodes. This illustrated an existing and longstanding frustration amongst people that have gone long periods of time being swept under a rug. The symbolism of the throwing of faeces showed that the student because of colonial practices and the proceeding apartheid policies that he could step outside of his home and just encounter open sewage. This moment was the movement in which the students took a stand for the economically disenfranchised people in South Africa in which the advent of democracy 23 years ago has not altered their lives in the manner that they believe it should. The RMF although a protest that started recently

illustrates existing qualms that students have had for long periods of time not just at UCT but at all universities locally and to an extent internationally.

Rhodes Must Fall

The importance of the transformation of higher education was highlighted early in the onset of South African democracy. There was a consensus within the Government of National Unity that higher education needed transformation, to redress the inequalities of the past and serve a new world order. Transformation of higher education institutions in South Africa also served the goal of managing to meet the pressing needs of the South African people as well as responding to the new realities and new opportunities that accompanied the new system. The education white paper outlines that the overall goal of the transformation of university spaces is to deal directly with matters of equity and foster equity, of both staff and students, in higher education institutions (Scott, 2007)

Maxweles throwing of faeces illustrated the disgust of the symbolism attached to Rhodes that lead to one of the largest student movements in post-apartheid South Africa. This movement thus illustrated a growing attitude of discontent amongst the South African populous in the period following the 2014 elections that renewed ideas of black consciousness and other levels of critically questioning of society (Chaudhuri, 2016).

Rhodes Must Fall, per Amit Chaudhuri, has a long list of demands and worries that have just been waiting for the appropriate manner and time to be voiced and addressed. Although the movement itself was initially directed at the longstanding statu of Rhodes, the existence of statues was not the centre of the movement. Rather the movement centred on the persistence of the ethos of that Rhodes in education and what this meant for the African individuals that were in these universities (Chaudhuri, 2016).The existence of the statue symbolised this ethos per this analysis the ethos held by Rhodes when it came to education was:

"…the establishment, promotion and development of a Secret Society, the true aim and object whereof shall be for the extension of British rule throughout the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom, and of colonisation by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labour and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire Continent of Africa …" (Walker, 2016)

The movement illustrated that the Rhodes ethos was not an ethos that was unique to Rhodes and the colonial conquest of the British at the time. But it was , however a view that is still held by the west through its neo-liberal economic policies such as the neo-liberalisation of education as well as through the new colonial policies that are maintained by the western countries in relation to African countries (Chaudhuri, 2016). The RMF protests sought to illustrate the way the neo-colonialism of the west filtered into the education system, igniting a call for the decolonization of tertiary education. From the beginning of the Rhodes must fall protest the South African universities stated that the aim of these protests was to address the unequal vision of the world whereby structure there is an unequal division of resources and opportunities that have filtered into university spaces. In so doing the movement stated that the Rhodes must fall protests were a movement of university students and staff that aimed to reach true levels of university transformation (Msila, 2016).

Fees Must Fall

The FMF movement, the student movement that began in October 2015 and is still on-going represents protests the lack of access to and the financial exclusion from higher education institutions in South Africa. The movements questioned the existing socio-political structures that are a result of the 1994 deal between big businesses, the ruling elite and the liberation movements. The FMF movement challenged existing social hierarchies, such as the top-down leadership of the university., and questioned the way the universities state that they are acting in the interest of the students and the workers. While enforcing a regressive system for control and governance (Booysen, 2016).

RMF called for the decolonisation of tertiary institutions. RMF, was a collective of staff and students at UCT, the removal of the statue of Rhodes illustrated the symbolic and inevitable end of white supremacy and the end of privilege based on race at the UCT campuses (Laurore, 2016). The FMF movement started in Johannesburg after Wits University announced an increase in tuition fees for 2016. The justification given for this increase was stated that the government subsidy of 5 percent awarded to the university was not enough for the increased cost of maintaining the University. The maintenance of the university costs encompasses; library books, salaries, journal subscriptions and research equipment. Rhodes University in Grahamstown proceeded to announce an initial payment of5 0 percent the school fees were to be paid up front. The average cost of this (including residence costs)

would be a R 45,000 upfront payment. Because of this, The FMF movement was a stand against financial exclusion and increased debt for economically disadvantaged students.

The 2015 fees must fall protests were sparked by the double-digit fee increase for the 2016 academic, the 2015 movement called for more than simply a freeze in the fees increase but also called for the decolonisation and transformation of university spaces, following the demands of the Rhodes must fall protests. The fees must fall further called for the insourcing of university workers, mainly the cleaners, the grounds keepers, and university support staff. Based on various measures South Africa is the most unequal society in Southern Africa with high-income disparities that make the transfer of wealth and the redistribution of wealth nearly impossible. The inequality levels in South Africa have increased during the post-apartheid years' working-class individuals in South Africa do not earn a basic living salary to support their dependants and this results in more of the working class living below the poverty line. In the South Africa society 60 percent of the black people are living below the poverty line illustrating that race and class are part and parcel in South Africa despite the existence of various forms of funding and the state subsidies given to the tertiary institutions for many black families living below the poverty line the fees at these institutions make tertiary education an unobtainable goal. (Msila, 2016).

Conclusion

In This chapter I examined the social context of the universities in South Africa. The social context looked at the population demographics of all South African universities and narrowed it down to the population demographics of Wits. These demographics were broken down into race and gender and then further elaborated through looking at race. The chapter then looked at the RMF and FMF protests of 2015 and onwards providing a brief explanation of what prompted the protests to emerge and the way the protests progressed. The FMF protest were beyond the discussions tuition fees but were centred on the structure of the tertiary institutions in South Africa, and the marginalised experience of the black South African students. The fees must fall in addressing the setbacks of the Eurocentric structure of the universities illustrates a way the collective memory and collective trauma of the black South African are being addressed. The youth in South Africa believed that the tertiary institutions in South Africa need a change in structure and the way in which their courses are structured. The demographics of South African Universities suggest that although foreign students are a

minority they are a significant minority. The role played by foreign students in the RMF and FMF is a topic that is underexplored. The ways in within which both South African students and foreign students understood the category of foreign students throughout the protests, are not clearly outlined in the discussions that emerged during the FMF and RMF protests. These understandings will be explored in depth in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 - Data Analysis

Introduction

The data analysis chapter presents the evidence that emerged through the data collection process. The data was collected and processed in response to the problems presented in the first chapter of this dissertation. This chapter is driven by the goals of, building on the existing knowledge that the students already have, while also attempting to understand how this knowledge is developed and negotiated, within the student movements of 2015 and 2016, most notably the Rhodes must fall movement (RMF) and the fees must fall movement (FMF). The data analysis primarily examines the FMF and the RMF because it is the current contact that the students are existing in and negotiating around whilst in the climate of increased xenophobic violence. There are two sub-sections of this data analysis, the first looks at the overall views of xenophobia and the second looks at the views that are specific to the university setting particularly the RMF and the FMF.

The first section of the research

The surveys sought to develop a demographically representative sample of the students, based on whether they were local students or whether they were international students, the bulk of the survey respondents ended up being South African national students. This undoubtedly impacted the way the discussion of the conceptualization of xenophobia was framed.

The second section of the research

In the second section of this chapter I will examine the way the students at the university engaged with xenophobia considering the current university unrest. Considering this focus, the interviews proceeded to ask the students, "**What motivated you to join the protests or what motivated you to stay away from the protests?"** Six of the eight interview subjects responded directly to this question, while the remaining 2 preferred to refer to previous questions, suggesting that they had already answered this question sufficiently, or chose not to answer the question at all. A minority of the respondents explicitly link decolonisation to the reduction of xenophobic prejudice. This chapter presents the principal findings that

emerged from the interview and survey data that was collected. The next chapter will make further comments and present a more detailed discussion on these findings

PART I: STUDENTS AND XENOPHOBIA IN SA SOCIETY

How students Categorise Xenophobia

In the initial section of the surveys, I asked what the respondents' overall view of foreign nationals were and how they understood this view to have been developed and formed. Of the 24 respondents, 6 stated that they were neutral in their view of foreign nationals, while the remaining 16 had positive views of foreign nationals. No one claimed to have a negative view of foreign nationals, and 3 had no feelings.

In the follow-up interviews, I then proceeded to ask the respondents where their views of foreign nationals came from. Most of the respondents stated that their views came from their experience of community engagement and their exposure to socially-dominant opinions. A small group of the respondents stated that their views of foreign nationals came from exposure to various forms of popular media. (This included the respondents that were themselves foreign nationals living in South Africa). The semi-structured way the interviews were conducted allowed the students to shape their response based on the questions. This structure also allowed me to follow a train of thought that resulted in the interview respondents being able to more accurately articulate their responses.

The respondents were asked to explain what they understand xenophobia to be. This question was asked in the surveys and further elaborated on in the interviews. In both the surveys and interviews, many of the respondents held the view that xenophobia is best described as an act of violence. In the surveys, the student respondents were added how they conceptualize xenophobia, and responded that xenophobia could be understood as:

> *"…Barbaric, violent act conducted by immoral and uneducated people who have hate towards other nationalities due to the fact they feel their infringing on their ability to success…" (Survey 1)*

> *"…Xenophobia must embody the actions and practices of an individual or community rather than solely concentrating on the attitudes towards foreign nationals. My argument implies that beyond fear and dislike there must be actions of violence that cause bodily harm or damage to property…" (Survey 2)*

"…The mistreatment of foreign nationals because they are not from your home country. This mistreatment can be verbal, physical, professional or otherwise…" (Survey 3)

The interviews followed a similar line of questioning. Although most of the respondents in this phase of interviews were themselves international students. Their conceptualisation of xenophobia did not drastically differ from those offered by South African national students. I asked the interview respondents how they personally conceptualize xenophobia. Typical responses included:

"...Xenophobia is a fear of foreigners but not a political fear of foreigners but a socio- economic fear..." (Interview,1)

".... Xenophobia is the driven from the fear of other foreign nationals …" (Interview, 4)

"...Hate which is propelled by insecurity and fueled by a longing to reach certain standards that other nationals have already reached which South Africans themselves feel that they have not reached..." (Interview,4)

Many of the respondents outlined that the term "xenophobia" is problematic. This is because the term only examines one angle of the discussion but neglects the others.

"…Xenophobia is usually used to define a fear of foreigners and acts of prejudice or violence due to that fear. The "phobia" part of the word depicts xenophobia as just a fear and in turn, excludes the violence and prejudice often associated with it. This makes the term slightly less accurate especially to a person who has not come across anything else about xenophobia apart from the term itself…" (Interview, 5)

After asking the students to explain how they understood xenophobia I asked them to go deeper into the discussion of the nature of xenophobia and asked if referring to these acts as xenophobia would be the most accurate way to discuss the physical and mental violence experienced by the foreign nationals. The interviews asked how xenophobic acts are understood, and then, as a second part of the question, whether calling these acts "xenophobia" is accurate. Various respondents stated that xenophobia is an accurate term to describe certain acts of violence, but the manners in which xenophobia was conceptualized differed based on the manner of violence. When the survey was circulated 18 of the 24 respondents believed that xenophobia was the most accurate term to use to describe the acts

of violence directed against foreign nationals in South Africa. However, two of the respondents felt that it is an inaccurate term stating that:

"...The definition of xenophobia must be redefined to include a specific target of individuals or groups against whom they fear and hate or actions of violence are directed towards..." (Survey 2)

Of the 8 individuals interviewed after in-depth surveys, two further respondents agreed with the survey's view that a new definition of xenophobia should be presented, based on the contextualization of xenophobic violence and based on how they had conceptualized it in the previous question.

These two respondents argued that:

> *"...The term xenophobia depends on the context because in the cities and suburban areas it is not explicit whereas in the town it is an act of afrophobia rather than general xenophobia. Because in the townships there are more African individuals however in the urban areas there is no explicit problem with the foreigners. The only explicit difference is that in the urban and suburban areas there is an expectation for all African immigrants to have their documentation in order…" (Interview, 1)*

> *"...there is a difference between fear and actually acting upon that fear in South Africa xenophobia should be given a different name..." (Interview, 2)*

However, of most respondents that felt that xenophobia was an accurate term, a typical response was that:

> *"...I think the term Xenophobia if associated with the known results of violence and prejudice, is a fair term to use…" (Interview, 5)*

When asked, another respondent stated that:

> *"...Calling it xenophobia is appropriate because it needs to be given a name of some sort, and xenophobia comes from what the act actually is itself is a form of hate crime to other African nationals" (interview, 4)*

The survey and interviews asked the students what characterized and drove xenophobia. Only twelve of the 24 students who responded to the survey answered this question, and of those 12 the majority suggested that the xenophobic violence is characterized by the lingering

disenchantment that the people have of the society, and is not informed by the characteristics of foreign nationals living and working in South Africa

> *"…South African citizens are angered by the government and tend to misdirect this anger towards foreign nationals…" (Survey, 4)*

The remaining minority did not believe that the xenophobic attacks were a result of disenfranchisement or disenchantment. Instead, they suggested that "xenophobia" is a result of individual and collective perceptions of foreign nationals in South Africa:

> *"...Xenophobia is the fear of something that is foreign and strange and it is usually directed towards foreigners. I think people have this perception that when foreign African nationals come into their country, these African nationals are taking away jobs and resources from the locals and thus they feel threatened and act out in a violent manner to get the point across…" (Survey, 5)*

> *"…Hate characterizes xenophobia and in some instances insecurity about peoples' futures, in conversations you hear that foreigners are here to take jobs where they feel that they are not as good as foreigners…" (Interview, 4)*

Most respondents recognised the existence of xenophobic violence in South Africa, and could describe the key features of this violence: it is characterised by acts of violence that are propelled by hate and ignorance towards other African foreign nationals, acts of prejudice and violence due to a fear or foreigners and a pre-existing fear of ones' socio-economic standing and mistreatment that manifests itself in the physical violence or passive verbal violence. However, there were significant debates around the usefulness and accuracy of the term "xenophobia" to describe the root causes of this violence. Most of the respondents suggested that the primary force driving so-called xenophobic attacks was the dissatisfaction of SA nationals with internal political arrangements and that foreign nationals were merely a convenient scapegoat. A significant minority, however, emphasized the individual and collective fear of foreigners based on the view they hold that the foreign nationals are here to take jobs that they think would otherwise be awarded to them.

Narrative around xenophobia

Once these definitions were established, I then asked the interview respondents in what way they think that this existing narrative influences the way in which the ideas of xenophobia

and xenophobic violence have been framed in South African discourse. I asked the students this to understand how the narratives that they were exposed to were framed to grasp better where their initial perceptions emerged from and what their initial perceptions were.

> One typical response was: "*…the view is that people come here get our education and proceed to take our jobs…" (Interview, 2)*

I proceeded to ask this respondent if that was the only existing narrative around foreign nationals and if they believed that the existing narratives that are being circulated impose an identity on someone based on their nationality. In asking this question, I was attempting to understand what the respondent felt the representation of xenophobia and the way xenophobia is discussed on a public and social forum might be.

The respondent stated that:

> *"… As word goes around based on the stereotypes that people have of foreign nationals based on one experience that one person had with a foreign national. These stereotypes then inform a small group of people on what they think foreign nationals to be and can result in violent reactions…" (Interview, 2)*

Other interview respondents outlined that the existing perceptions are not a one-way street, but rather with the perceptions that the South African individuals have of foreign nationals and the perception that foreign nationals have of South Africans are intertwined. One of the interview respondents stated that:

> *"… The narrative that exists around xenophobia is a narrative of fear. Many people fear to state where they are from because of the possible consequences of violence…" (Interview, 4)*

Another respondent illustrated that the narrative and emerging perceptions are:

> *"… As a Tanzanian I feel that South Africans are arrogant individuals however my perception is informed by the perceptions from back in Tanzania. Further a South African might see me a Tanzanian as a cast away from the rest of Africa that is coming to disrupt the South African way of life…" (Interview, 4)*

I proceeded to ask this respondent what the general view of foreign nationals held within the university spaces was:

> *"… Foreign nationals are viewed as hustlers, however; it depends on some local students view foreign nationals as the cool kids from the other side of the world whereas others think that international students are coming from very terrible positions in life. Therefore, it all depends on the crowd that you are communicating with and how you present yourself to the people that are how they will view you as. There are various forces at play when it comes to perceptions…" (Interview, 4)*

Another student echoed this perspective:

> *"… Myself, I am indifferent. However, I have observed that there is fear of South Africans and people are afraid of saying that they are foreign nationals. South African people toward foreign nationals are welcoming based on personal experience…" (Interview, 2)*

The respondents suggested that the existing narratives around foreign nationals are largely informed by existing stereotypes that surround certain foreign nationals. The stereotypes that people hold then influence the perception that they have of the foreign nationals. The respondents outlined that the narratives are further developed based on negative experiences between a foreign national and a South African national. Within the university context, the popular narratives about foreign nationals were analyzed based on an individual's personal experiences. However, most of the respondents outlined that these narratives are not informed by one individual and are not determined by one individual but are also determined by the way the foreign nationals chose to present themselves.

International student's perception of xenophobia

One of the unexpected effects of the research process was that many responses were from international students, as described in the introduction of this chapter. After distributing the surveys and conducting the interviews, I noted that different understandings of xenophobia were held by international students and South African nationals. This difference emerged when I asked the students in the surveys to define and contextualize xenophobia

Of the surveys circulated, 30 percent of the respondents were international students, and of these students' responses, all conceptualized xenophobia in a way different to that of South African national students. Typical responses included:

> *"…It's a dividing concept amongst human in a globalized economy…" (survey. 1)*
>
> *"…The mistreatment of foreign nationals because they are not from your home country. This mistreatment can be verbal, physical, professional or otherwise…" (Survey, 6)*
>
> *"…A negative response to outsiders receiving benefits that the natives feel entitled to…" (Survey, 7)*

The survey asked the respondents to consider the factors that they believed caused the outbreak of xenophobia. However, some of the respondents shied away from answering the element of the question that aimed to examine the physical and social drivers of xenophobia. But opted to pay closer attention to the more psychological nuanced characteristics of xenophobia that result in the emergence of xenophobic violence.

Of the international respondents, half of them suggested various ways in which xenophobia is a result of existing social and service delivery problems. The other half, however, suggested that what characterizes xenophobia is the social structure and social inequality that resulted in the educational disparities, which result in a perceived ignorance of the other foreign nationals.

Responses included:

> *"…Foreign nationals are adjudged to be stealing South African jobs…" (Survey, 2)*
>
> *"…Language barriers, envy of the success of foreign nationals, criminal elements such as hard crime syndicates and psychopath seeking a justification. Overall government frustrations…" (Survey, 1)*
>
> *"…Discrimination, lack of education or understanding about foreign nationals and different countries (especially African countries), pent up rage from economic and social problems…" (Survey, 8)*
>
> *"…The presence of successful foreigners while natives are struggling…" (Survey, 9)*

The surveys asked the students if they believed that the xenophobic violence was characterized by the existence of a perceived difference between the foreign nationals and the perpetrators of violence. Of the international respondents, they all believed that there were existing differences in the individuals that were victims of xenophobic. The survey then proceeded to ask the students if there are different targets why do you feel this is the case? The respondents that proceeded to explain why they believed there was this difference stated that

> *"…This is because of how close they are to the bottom class locals that perpetrate such crimes. E.g. Middle-eastern racial groups because most own businesses within the dirt-poor communities that are frustrated by government…" (Survey 1)*

> *"…the most vulnerable are usually the most accessible ones, i.e. foreign nationals in densely populated residential areas. The other next best targets are commuter areas and work environments…" (Survey 10)*

> *"…They are the same targets just different aspects of each. Ultimately Xeno means any foreigner regardless of race or gender…" (Survey 11)*

One of the international respondents stated that xenophobia is not just the action but the feelings that are attached to the act of violence. The respondent stated that

> *"…I do not think that this is the best thing that could happen because that can be racism though not categorizing people based on race…" (Interview, 7)*

The responses indicated that there is a difference in contextualizing xenophobia between the international students and the South African national students. Most of the international respondents believed that xenophobia is a concept that divided African people because of inequalities that exist in the system. The respondents' conceptualization of xenophobic violence differed from the earlier conceptualizations of xenophobic violence with the main characteristic of xenophobia being: pre-existing criminal activities that find a further outlet through foreign nationals, visible disparities between the South African locals and the foreign nationals with the foreign nationals being more successful in comparison to the South African locals. Xenophobia is further characterized through the violent acts as well as the feelings that are attached to the foreigners' debates emerged between whether difference was a category in the xenophobic violence. Most of the respondents agreed that difference was a

defining characteristic of xenophobia whilst the minority believed that the attacks did not focus on difference as a concept but only looked at certain contingent characteristics.

Violence, fear and socio-economic exclusion

In the surveys, I asked the students if they believed that xenophobic violence targeted specific individuals based on certain criteria such as race, class or gender. 17 respondents believed that there was a specific target of xenophobic violence whilst 7 believed that there was not the

The interviews and surveys asked the students what characterized outbreaks of xenophobic violence, and how they believed that this violence could be linked directly to the existence of foreign nationals in the country. In the eight in-depth interviews, all the respondents expressed differing conceptualisations of xenophobic violence, and its main characteristics.

One respondent stated that:

> *"...Xenophobic acts of violence are a means of putting across a fear that is held by many South Africans of having foreigners in the country and the fear of what that means for them as uneducated and semi-skilled workers. This fear emerges when the foreigner that is similarly uneducated and semi-skilled is referred for the job because of their immigration status making them cheaper to employ..." (Interview, 3)*

Others further believed that xenophobic violence is:

> *"... characterized by the fear of other foreign nationals..." (Interview, 3)*

> *"... an act of violence that is pushed forward by poverty and ignorance of the foreign nationals in which they are perpetrating the violence against..." (Interview, 3)*

The surveys asked students, "How do you understand the increasing emergence of public violence against foreign African nationals?" The respondents stated that it was:

> *"...Due to economic and social imbalances..." (Survey, 1)*

> *"...I think a lot of people are actually using this as a basis for criminal activities instead, hence the high numbers of violence in the townships..." (Survey, 4)*

"...Xenophobia is the fear of something that is foreign and strange and it is usually directed towards foreigners. I think people have this perception that when foreign African nationals come into their country, these African nationals are taking away jobs and resources from the locals and thus they feel threatened and act out in a violent manner to get the point across…." (Survey, 5)

"...The common sentiment of the community is that foreign nationals are here to steal jobs and bring crime, due to the frustration felt within these communities by the lack of government intervention they decide to take matters into their own hands…" (Survey, 6)

"...It's hysteria emanating from a feeling that foreign nationals are achieving success where locals have failed, and they do not understand why…" (Survey, 7)

"... I understand it as a combination of several elements- legacies in terms of black borders labour inherited from the apartheid or colonial past. The perpetuation of state practice towards policing of black bodies in light of increasing neoliberal exploitation…" (Survey, 9)

One notable survey response held both views that looked at both the pre-existing social issues in South Africa. Whilst also outlining that they agree with the view that foreigners exacerbate these pre-existing issues. The response, unlike all the other responses, outlined that the respondent held two contradicting views as to why the violence emerged in the way it did. The respondent stated that

"... I understand it as South Africans becoming increasingly unhappy with the fact that they still have high unemployment. Poor health care shelter yet they see foreigners able to come to S.A have jobs a better standard of living than them. Their view is that the issue lies solely with open borders in which it is easy to migrate to S.A., therefore, taking away people's jobs…" (Survey, 19)

Fourteen of the survey responses leaned more towards stating that the xenophobic violence was characterized by various social and political causes, as outlined above. However, the remaining survey respondents stated that the violence was characterized by pre-existing hate towards foreign nationals.

"…I don't, South Africans didn't fight for their democratic freedom alone and the African experience is shared by everyone. Solidarity and understanding shouldn't spark violence..." (Survey, 18)

"…it is an on and off thing but xenophobia/violence against foreigners will never stop because there are people who will always have a negative view of others..." (Survey, 20)

In the follow-up interviews, I asked the respondents how they conceptualize and understand the re-emergence of violence against foreign nationals in 2016. Of the 8 interview respondents, 5 suggested that the recent increased violence was a result of a pre-existing fear of foreign nationals amongst South Africans, while only 2 respondents posited that the increased emergence of violence is a result of social economic issues. One respondent, however, was of the belief that the increased violence is a result of existing and, to an extent, valid issues some South African nationals have with the foreign nationals.

In the interview, I then asked the respondents to elaborate on the argument that they were presenting, on the link between fear and xenophobic violence and the overall emergence of xenophobic ideals. 5 interview respondents believed that violence and fear are linked. These 5 respondents also stated that this existing fear is not an adequate explanation of the violence that occurred or an adequate justification of the emergence of violence. The respondents then proceeded to examine the nature of the manifestation of fear through violence stating:

"…The "phobia" part of the word depicts xenophobia as just a fear and in turn, excludes the violence and prejudice often associated with it…" (Interview, 1)

"…there is a difference between fear and reacting to that fear by violent actions…" (Interview, 2)

"… Xenophobia is a fear of foreigners because you see them as invasive and are afraid of what they bring because you do not fully know much about them. It's just like arachnophobia where you fear the spider you react when you see it is just a general fear…" (Interview, 2)

I asked the interview respondents to further elaborate on this point of why they think the xenophobic violence emerges out of fear or why they believe fear does not equate to violence. The respondents stated that:

> *"…when the fear leads to violence it is an entirely different thing and I don't think it can be referred to as xenophobia. There is a whole social economic thing that is taking place because; if people do not think that their livelihoods are being threatened by foreigners they would not be reacting violently towards the foreigner. So, I believe that the emergence of xenophobic violence goes deeper than just the fear of foreigners…" (Interview, 2)*

One other respondent was of the belief that xenophobia-

> *"…stems from an existing insecurity about the social standing in societies whereby you have the foreign nationals coming in and doing jobs that they are more qualified for or otherwise more willing to do. That insecurity is then manifested in the actions…" (Interview, 3)*

Despite the prominence of violence during these protests, various respondents believed that this violence stemmed from pre-existing criminal activities, whereby the individuals that participate in the violent acts against foreign nationals use it as a basis for increased criminal activities. Many of the respondents believed that xenophobic acts of violence are scare tactics employed by the locals to intimidate foreign nationals that they perceive to be doing better than them. When further probed on the question of criminal activates the central view was that the xenophobic acts of violence are used as a means of cutting across a fear that is held by many South Africans. This is a fear of having foreigners in the country and the fear of what that means for them, as the uneducated and semi-skilled workers. When the foreign individual, that is similarly uneducated and semi-skilled, is preferred for employment because they lack papers, thus they have no rights for employment and are preferred for the cheaper labour. The uses of violence become the way the locals get the fear across to the society.

PART II: STUDENTS AND XENOPHOBIA WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY

Inclusivity of Wits as an Institution

The surveys and interviews were all conducted at the University of the Witwatersrand, with students of that institution. The specific context of student life thus shaped the responses. As a means of understanding the nature of Wits as an institution, I asked the survey respondents

if they believed that both South African Nationals and Foreign Nationals were drastically different from other foreign nationals. Of the overall 24 respondents, 20 stated that they did not believe that they were different in any way whilst 4 respondents stated that they felt that they were different from foreign nationals. Of the 5 that stated they believed that they were different from foreign nationals and South African nationals, they stated that:

> *"…There differences in perceiving what are socially acceptable…" (Survey, 7)*
>
> *"…different cultural background and beliefs backed by the way I was/might have been brought up…" (Survey, 8)*
>
> *". Every country in Africa is unique..." (Survey, 9)*
>
> *"…One identifies with their cultures which are very different…" (Survey, 2)*

Most of the respondents stated that they do not believe that there is an existing difference between foreign nationals and South African individuals, suggesting that

> *"…I believe that we are very similar as individuals with slight differences in culture a nd upbringing…" (Survey, 6)*
>
> *"…We are all Africans, we should not let borders and boundaries differentiate us…" (Survey, 4)*

The surveys then asked the respondents if they believed that being at a tertiary institution influenced how they identified with the people around them. Eleven of the respondents said that their identities and perceptions were changed, whereas 8 stated that this was not the case. Of the respondents that felt that there was a change in the way they understood and conceptualized foreign nationals and acts of xenophobia they stated that

> *"… being surrounded by different kinds of people has allowed me to create reshape and build my own identity*
>
> *"… been exposed to various people who deserve to have their talents and education used wherever they can be …" (survey, 18)*
>
> *"… Plenty interaction with lots of different people broadens the perspective and views…" (Survey, 15)*

"… I have become aware of the implication of white South Africans in terms of ant black xenophobia. Examples of this could be found in the "nigerfication" or the "zimbabwefication" of African foreign nationals…" (Survey, 9)

"…I get to interact with intellectuals which allow us to talk about issues which affect us and colonialism have divided us …" (survey, 1)

"…I have come to understand not only from university but also from the travels I have had and from my family upbringing to understand and appreciate the diversity of culture. It is not necessarily university but I cannot take out that option as I come from a family where the majority have been to university and what they have taught me is shaped by their experiences as well…" (Survey, 7)

"…you get more interaction with those of different ethnic backgrounds because you attend lectures together…" (Survey, 8)

"…getting to be in class with them and mingling, learning their way of life brings out the oneness in all of us as beings …" (survey, 9)

In the follow-up, in-depth interviews, I asked the respondents to give a brief explanation of the nature of Wits as an institution. When I asked the students what they understood about Wits as an institution I explained that in this context, I was encouraging them to consider xenophobia not just as the existence of fear of foreign nationals, and acts of violence, but also as narratives that exist around foreign nationals, in hiring processes, as well as more generally across the institution.

I asked the respondents the question, "**How does Wits negotiate around xenophobia?"** By asking this question I wanted the interview respondents to outline if they believed that there are any existing policies that address the attitudes of xenophobia that characterized the South African experience in 2008 and 2016. I further asked the students if they believed Wits as an institution aims to combat xenophobia, or if there are existing policies in the institution that make the xenophobic perceptions of several South Africans more dominant.

The respondents stated that:

"…Wits is integratory at the surface. It is easier for foreign students or employees to mix with the rest of the community as compared to blending in with the community around the institution and through their policies against prejudice and discrimination

they try to combat xenophobia although the bureaucracy involved in attaining employment opportunities, financial aid/reprieve and suchlike act as barriers to foreigners. It is not clear if this is designed by the institution or by national policies…" (Interview, 1)

"…I have never been through any xenophobic experience at the university and I think their policies lean more toward integration regardless of where you come from or your race or gender…" (Interview, 2)

"…I don't think that Wits as an institution negotiate around the topic and I don't believe that they have actively taken a stand against certain actions. However, if you ask about the societies at Wits such as the SRC and other societies there is no existing framework they work with..." (Interview, 4)

"… because Wits are so huge it is also so tiny at the same time so you have your group of friend and they stay your friends from first year to the end and it is so specific based on who you associate what you are then exposed to…" (Interview, 6)

"… like any institution that is first trying to protect its image and second trying to maintain its standards and a distant third trying to protect the community at large what I have witnessed is Wits blatantly dismissing xenophobia and xenophobic attacks but at the same time not particularly doing anything to support their claims against xenophobia. And as a foreign national I have not seen anything that is being put in place for students that are feeling the pressure of xenophobic attacks…" (Interview, 3)

I proceeded to ask this student to elaborate and investigated further what if they thought that there were any existing policies within the institution that they believed would exacerbate or reduce the development of xenophobic ideas, whilst informing a perception in the institution about xenophobia. They stated that:

"… in this instance I would like to revert back to my initial answer and say that Wits as an institution trying to protect its image and maintain standards would not outright state that they would create a space for foreign nationals. So, I feel that they are accommodating but I don't know if that accommodation is based on pure motives or financial motives. For staff, I feel that the institution is in a tough position as they run an institution where education takes place and they can look for staff that delivers

what they want and if the person that delivers the best physics lecture is from Ghana that is in keeping with their high education standards…" (Interview, 3)

I asked the respondents what they meant when discussing the societies and the response stated that

> *"…There is a belief amongst the students that within the societies around campus there is no fixed way of accommodating international students…" (Interview, 4)*

> *"… I think it is dependent on the groups you associate with where is you are part of the international students' association you are going to have a different understanding in comparison to the "guardian reading bubble" who is of an idealistic world view…" (Interview, 6)*

I further asked the respondents what they felt about the students within the institution and if they believed that the student's perception of foreign nationals is informed by existing xenophobic perceptions. Of the 8 respondents, two believed that there are some perceptions that are informed by the external factors and community perceptions of international students. At this point, I had to clarify to the students that I was not insinuating or investigating xenophobia amongst the students and outline that I was attempting to understand the existing and developing perceptions that are held of foreign nationals.

The respondent stated that:

> *"…I think it was a joke but a classmate said to me that foreigners come here and steal our jobs at the end of the discussion she said she was joking but it alarmed me that a person could perceive such a thing…" (Interview, 2)*

> *"… In general I think Wits students are welcoming and I have not experienced anything xenophobic however it is never clear what one would think of foreign nationals despite what they might say…" (Interview, 2)*

I proceeded to ask the international respondents what they themselves as an international student of their perception of xenophobia.

The respondents stated that:

> *"… Xenophobia is uncalled for in as much as they think that they might take their jobs it is because they possess certain qualifications that make them better qualified for the job in question…" (Interview, 2)*

These results illustrate how difference is understood and manifested amongst the students. There was a minority of the respondents positing that the existing difference amongst foreign nationals and South African nationals comes from their differing interactions with their cultures and the acceptability of certain practices. Students at Wits were not explicitly experienced with xenophobia. There was a consensus amongst the students that Wits as an institution aim at integrating everyone. However, through the integration, there was a view amongst the students that xenophobia was ignored and not explicitly addressed aside from condemning the violent crimes. The responses that emerged when these questions were asked allowed there to be an understanding on how students feel about how Wits managed the issues of xenophobia and how it impacted a population of the school. This allowed there to understand how the international students, as well as the South African national students, placed themselves and foreign nationals in the protests as well as how the FMF protests would affect the international population.

Fees Must fall & Rhodes Must Fall

The problem that has led to the violence is one in the same as the problems that ignited the calls for the transformation of tertiary institutions. The transformation would be achieved through the implementation of free education transforming the entire academic space.

The surveys asked the students if they had been actively involved in the Fees Must Fall movement. Of the 24 survey respondents, 17 were physically present at protests, as well as active on social media. The remaining 7 of the survey respondents chose to keep their distance from the protests. These seven survey respondents stated that they were not involved in the protests because for example:

> *"… I opted to remain neutral so I literally stayed away from the protests…" (Survey, 13)*

Another respondent stated simply when asked why they did not participate in the protest

> *"… I was overseas so I did not have the chance…" (Survey, 11)*

In the follow-up interviews, I asked the interview respondents if they had been active in the fees must fall protests of 2015 or of 2016. Six of the 8 respondents stated that they were

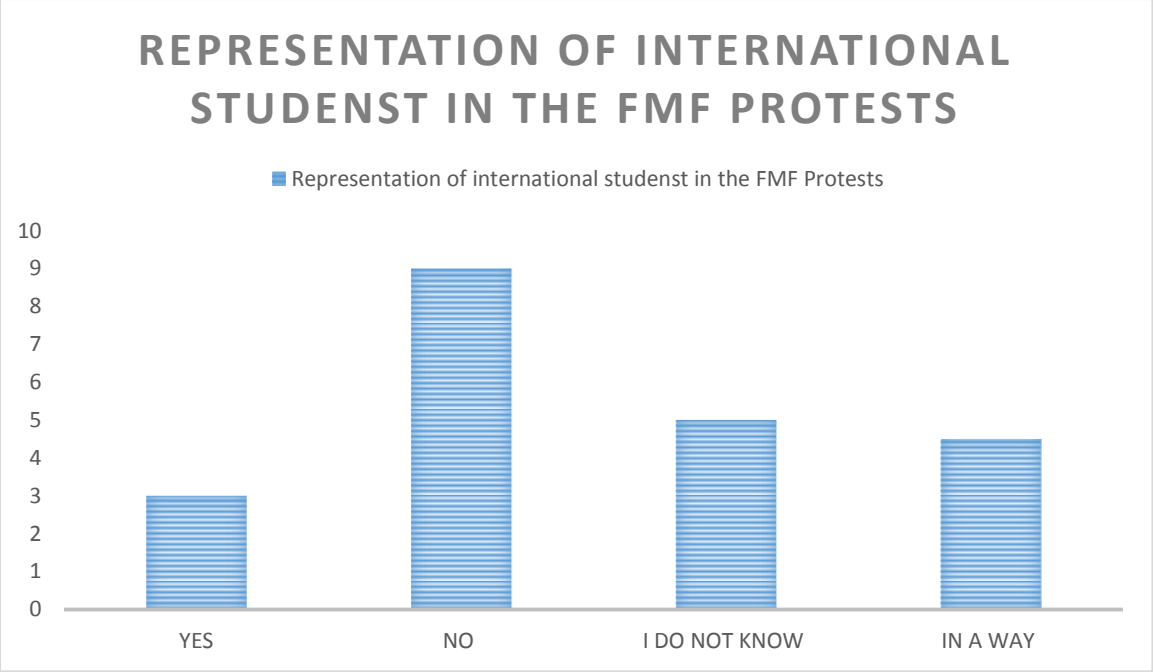
active in the protests in 2015, while 2 of the respondents were active in the 2016 protests. A typical response was, that:

> *"… I was active last in 2015 and failed this year because I was too busy to be on the ground. Last year I was there because I understand and sympathize with people that genuinely cannot pay fees or find the funding that is why I was engaged…" (Interview, 2)*

Two respondents said that they had not been involved at all, and two claimed to have been involved and engaged in the protests academically, through discourse and dialogue with other students – but not by taking an active part in the protests.

These responses pervaded all the responses that were expected as all the students were involved irrespective of their experiences at Wits, particularly the experiences of difference. During the FMF protest of 2015 and 2016, most the student population was affected by the shutdown of the universities. With more than half of the students' population being engaged in the protests, both on social media and physically being present. Despite the existence of differences in opinion during the protests many of the students, as illustrated by the responses, felt that the cause was a good cause. Despite the differing views on the uses of violence and other disruptive methods, most the respondents believed that the calls for free education are valid calls for those that are academically able but suffer financially.

Perceptions of International Students in the FMF Protests



The survey asked if international students had been represented throughout the protests, both in 2015 and 2016. Of the 24 survey respondents, 9 stated that they believed the interests of the international students were not represented and 5 said that they were unaware if the international students were represented. In contrast, 5 respondents believed that the international students were themselves active in the protest, and 3 more believed that there was some other form of representation of international students within the protests. The other two respondents skipped that question, explaining that they were not actively involved in the protests and were thus unaware of the potential role of international students in the protests.

Of the students that explained how they believe the international students were to an extent represented, however, their representation was limited and not viewed as important when linked to the calls for free education stated that:

> *"… The protests seemed to focus more on South African students. International students I know complained that they were not mentioned in the narrative…" (Survey, 18)*
>
> *"…Their cause was marginally pushed to garner support not that they actually wanted to be pushed…" (Survey, 1)*
>
> *"…Their concerns were never looked at or listened to…" (Survey, 3)*

"...from my point of view, I doubt that this campaign would in any way affect international students largely. I think even if education does become free or if fees fall, international students would still be made to pay…" (Survey, 10)

"…The argument presented was free education mostly for South African nationals…" (Survey, 11)

"…Foreign nationals were not given a platform to view their concerns; it was deemed that due to their low numbers their concerns were overweighed by the majority…" (S urvey, 6)

Of the three survey respondents that believed that international students interests were represented that stated that:

"…One of the demands included the removal of the levy imposed on African foreigners but that would not make much of a difference…" (survey, 7)

"…I think Project W attempted to represent foreigners but this wasn't represented in the protests. It is a South African issue that links to our history of oppression and it is the needs of the South African people…" (Survey, 18)

Of the survey respondents that believed that the interests of the international students were in a way represented they outlined that:

"…The focus is not on international students rather on the larger local population…" (Survey, 3)

"… international students have just been the outsiders, when it fits the movement they are included and when it does not they are excluded. There is an insider-outsider syndrome that the international students are facing, and you do not know where to place yourself…" (Interview, 4)

One respondent suggested that the involvement of international students altered as they movement developed:

"…they were not initially a priority but subsequently efforts were made in terms of their financial burden…" (Survey, 9)

International Student Participation in the Protests

After understanding how the students believed the international students were represented or not in the movement overall, I proceeded to ask the students where they positioned themselves in the protests. The 17 students that did participate in the protests stated that they were motivated to participate to gain a better understanding of how the international students and the South African national students conceptualized and categorized the positions of international students.

Of the interview respondents that answered the question, they stated that:

> *"…The issues of free education and decolonisation of institutions are not unique to South Africa. They are issues that affect most African countries, especially ones in Sub-Saharan Africa. Also, I believe that if South Africa decides to combat these issues it will inspire other African countries to do the same e.g. if South Africa was to find a way to fund free education other African countries can find their unique ways of doing the same… (Interview, 1)*

The same question was also asked to the survey respondents and one notable response stated that:

> *"… I agree and I disagree. I agree with free education for the poor yet I disagree with free education for all as it will result in loss of quality learning at other countries for example. As well as the SRC asking for fees to fall completely I feel that the commission brings up good points about how most of poor do not get into university due to poor schools, therefore, falls in fees will only benefit the middle class…" (Survey, 19)*

In the surveys, students were asked the students how they positioned themselves within the protests. Responses included:

> *"…Passive spectator and occasionally passive protestor…" (Survey, 3)*
>
> *"…As far away as possible…" (Survey, 8)*
>
> *"…The position of a bystander…" (Survey, 5)*
>
> *"…supporter of the fees not increasing for both local and international students…" (Survey, 9)*

"…Nowhere. I was just not interested…" (Survey, 7)

"…mostly in disruptive forms of aesthetics and conduct however always as an accomplice (I don't subscribe to the notion of "natives" never as leadership or centre…" (Survey, 19)

The surveys further probed this issue, asking the students **Does this form of positioning influence the way your identity is framed? How was it framed or how was it not framed?** The respondents stating that:

"…Because l was somewhat involved l was regarded as a comrade, but those who did not take part were regarded as traitors…" (Survey, 6)

"…As a foreigner, one cannot afford to be arrested. Being involved in the protests makes this highly likely …" (survey, 6)

"…I think free education is attainable and it should be a goal to be aspired to; we just may not be able to have it now or today. But we must actively work towards a free society as far as it is attainable…" (Survey, 13)

"… My role was to highlight the contradictions in the processing of state/security violence against white borders as opposed to black borders. My identity/positioning were not altered rather … embraced …" (survey, 9)

".. Yes. I think it shaped my identity by facing such serious issues makes you learn about yourself. In terms of how your views are shaped - The protests opened one u to see issues in South Africa that I was shielded from during my schooling and opened my eyes to see the deeper issues such as the issues of white privilege and seeing things in the bigger picture..." (survey, 19)

The surveys then proceeded to try and tease out the idea of identity being informed by the perceptions of the people around the respondents. The students were asked if the way they positioned themselves in the protests influenced, changed, or informed their identity. They were also asked to reflect how this could have influenced the way they perceived "xenophobia".

Participation in the protests saw most of the South African students being more actively involved in the protests with a much lower number of the international students. The results show that this is because the international students feared being actively involved in the

protests because of violence as well as the fear of what might become of them if they get arrested, by participating in a passive manner because they believe that fees should not increase for the international students or the South African national students. Despite this varying explanation of the international students' participation in the protests, the positioning of the students illustrated a majority view that there was overall engagement in the protests. Either in the minority that was engaged in the disruptive processes of the protests or in the respondents that engaged academically with the subject matter of the protests. The student's involvement in the protests to some extent allowed their identities to be shaped, allowing them to take agency in how they perceive foreign nationals in the school and around the school. The minority of respondents believed that the protests did not allow them to critically engage with their pre-existing ideas. Whilst the majority stated that engaging in the protest allowed them to critically assess pre-existing ideas that emerge from dominant opinions and media.

Student Protests, Difference, and Xenophobia

I then asked the respondents, "**As a student at an international university how do you conceptualize xenophobia in the context of these protests and where does your understanding of xenophobia emerge from?"**

One respondent stated that

> *"…I've come to understand that the way in which people try and assign certain issues, problems, traits etc. to one nationality, cultural tribe and suchlike become the root of the problem when it comes to xenophobia. It causes students to treat each other with subtle contempt especially when opinions differ between foreigners and locals, be they about the protests themselves or the methods used. Not understanding that these issues are not unique to South Africa will go a long way in making the locals understand that the involvement of foreigners does not diminish the cause nor does the criticism come from a lack of understanding based on geopolitical positioning but simply a difference in opinions as would exist with any of their local peers…" (Interview, 1)*

I probed the students further and asked them to explain the perceived differences amongst students in the protests asked the interview respondents: "**What do you feel is the basis of the difference amongst students and where they are positioned in the protests?"**

The same respondent stated that:

> *"...I think the difference in one's positioning in the protests is very closely interlinked with one's involvement in other issues that exist around campus. Therefore, we see people from the SRC, social groups and political groups, and student activists being the ones on the forefront most of the time. Acceptability also counts for something. The question of acceptability being "Does the student body feel that you are an acceptable representative when it comes to the issues at hand?" the answers to which are determined by one's race, sexual orientation, and social class in most instances..." (Interview, 1)*

Several further responses helped identify the range of differences recognized by international students as being part of the fees must fall protests:

> "…Yes. Caucasians, sexual groups other than heterosexuals, and the rich and well-to-do are not really visible at the forefront of the protests…" (Interview, 1)

> "… honestly no, however through the engagements that are when you will see where the line is drawn. The line is drawn when the international students wanted to go back to school whilst the local students wanted to continue the protests…" (Interview, 4)

> "… I feel like at the forefront you had black students so it was really strange feeling. And when it got very violent you saw the men in the front…" (Interview, 4)

> *"... South Africans tend to think their experiences are different based on their colonial experiences and other experiences and this informs the existing differences. These ideas always boil down to the perceptions..." (Interview, 4)*

International students were particularly sensitive about the multiple forms in which difference could be constructed throughout the protests. This sensitivity that the respondents hold comes from the view that the development of difference comes from assigning blame to those that are deemed to be the "other". The international respondents stated that the differences that did emerge during the protests were a result of pre-existing ideas and stereotypes that are held by foreign nationals. However, the international students although holding some sensitivity still believed that the differences that emerged in the protests did not rest solely on one's nationality but were also characterized by various other factors such as race, gender, and sexual orientation.

Decolonisation of university spaces

Towards the end of the follow-up interviews, after engaging with the students' involvement in and understanding of the fees must fall protests, I asked the interview respondents to discuss the calls for the decolonisation of university spaces. I asked the respondents: "**Is there a link between xenophobia and decolonisation (of university spaces) based on your understanding of the calls for decolonization?"** The students initially began by explaining what they understand decolonisation and the transformation of the university spaces to mean

> *"... The aim of decolonisation of university spaces is to promote indigenous knowledge and ideas that are rooted here in Africa. Talking about xenophobia being violence against other foreign nationals and when you talk about decolonization you are talking about African ideals ..." (interview, 2)*

> *"... Decolonisation for me is not speaking the language but rather decolonisation for me is reading and learning materials that actually resonate with the African child. Decolonisation is where a student that comes from a rural school should not be overlooked for a student that came from a model C school..." (Interview, 4)*

> *"...Decolonization is the breakaway and rejection of colonial rule and a colonial way of doing things. By colonial, I mean a Eurocentric way of doing things that have been imposed on Africans and the African way of thinking. Decolonisation would want to break away from a Eurocentric sense of action..." (Interview, 3)*

The respondents further stated that:

> *"... I do not think that there is a link between xenophobia and decolonisation because if anything the calls for decolonization and transformation should strengthen the relationship between black South Africans and other black foreign nationals..." (Interview, 2)*

> *"... No, decolonisation is breaking away from something that was imposed many moons ago. Whereas xenophobia in the African context is Africans that are filled with a sentiment of hate towards other African nationals. For example, an African that does not appreciate a Tanzanian student in their space and there is no link to xenophobia..." (Interview, 3)*

One respondent stated that the xenophobic violence is more linked to the ideas of pan-Africanism. When asked to explain the respondent stated that:

> *"…it is based more on Africans hating other African nationals and is not because of Eurocentric ideas…" (Interview, 3)*

The other respondents suggest that linking decolonisation and xenophobia could lead to a greater possibility in combatting the development of xenophobic ideas. However, these respondents do not believe that there is an existing link between xenophobia and calls for the decolonisation of tertiary institutions.

> *"…The call for decolonisation sounds more like a call for indigenisation, although the broader scope of decolonisation could lead to the combatting the issue of xenophobia. An example of this would be how more widespread knowledge of African history and the role that African countries played in South Africa achieving its democracy would enable South Africans to look at other African nationals as comrades in arms rather than just foreigners that are different from them…" (interview, 1)*

> *"… An all of the platforms that I have been involved in there is no direct link between xenophobia and decolonisation. I believe that there should be a link in xenophobia as it is perceived and the decolonisation of university spaces. The decolonisation of university spaces aims at creating a space that deals with African ideas and African people…" (Interview, 2)*

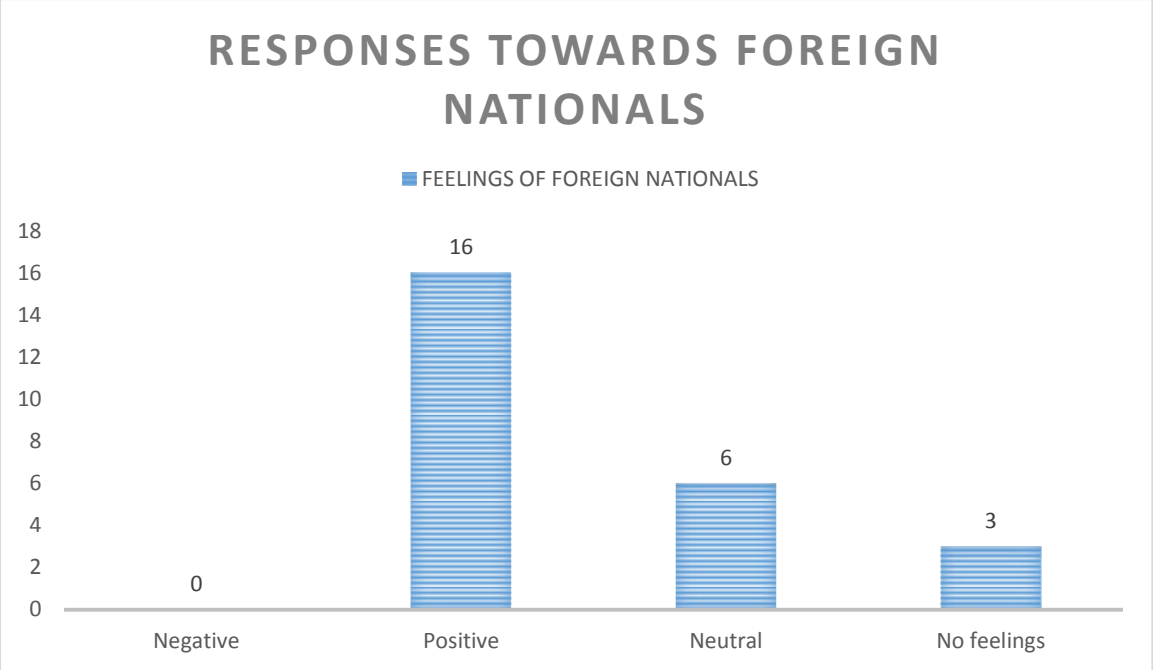
> *"… We got to this point because most African countries to gain their independence a lot of things were compromised. In South Africa's society, a lot was compromised, such as the economic rights. The economic elite that exists now is the same as those that existed then. And through the negotiation process, the minor nuances [such as such as the number of black academics that needed to be trained and the implementation of free education} were not clearly discussed…" (Interview, 4)*

> *"…I do not see the link, decolonisation is one movement, and xenophobia is another movement. It's two things that come from two different grounds. Where they are similar is where South Africa is currently facing strains in their political, economic and social structures…" (Interview, 4)*

The students believed that decolonisation is the promotion of indigenous knowledge and ideas that are rooted in Africa. This knowledge must also allow the students to read the material that they can resonate with and relate to, based on experience. There is a belief that decolonisation is the dismantling of Eurocentric ideas and norms.

Perceptions of foreign nationals within the institution

Finally, I asked the students to respond to one last question in the interviews. I asked the students to outline what they believed to be the overall understanding and perception of foreign nationals in the university, after the protests.



One interview respondent illustrated how they felt foreign nationals are perceived based on their observations of the discourse that surrounds xenophobia and the way xenophobia is understood. The respondents stated that:

"…Put bluntly: They are here to steal jobs, opportunities and women/men from South Africans, they are a burden to the government and will cause things such as social service and healthcare to deteriorate, they come from poor countries with failed leaders and want to ruin this one. They have different cultures and norms that are inferior to those of the locals…" (Interview, 1)

In the surveys, I asked the students if the positioning of foreign nationals in the protests had altered their views of foreign nationals in the institution, or more generally.

There was no pattern in the responses, with students suggesting that:

> *"… My view on foreigners is quite neutral. I am against violence and xenophobia completely. But I can see the issue of jobs and other issues such as open borders. I only think that it's a deeper issue of education and work ethic as foreign nationals come into a town and make their own business and work hard without complaints which are something South Africans lack due to various reasons…" (Survey, 19)*

> *"…my view before and after is that foreign nationals deserve respect and safety…" (Survey, 18)*

> *"…I do not have any bad views towards foreign nationals..." (Survey, 9)*

> *"… I feel that the perceptions that are held by the students of foreign nationals depend on, it depends on the individuals you interact with and their level of intellectual development and their economic position. Therefore, the perception is dependent on various factors…" (Interview,4)*

The perceptions of foreign nationals often depend on the interactions that are had with the foreign nationals, However the overall responses to the how foreign nationals were perceived were positive responses with the minority of the respondents positing that although their perceptions are positive there are some generally negative perceptions of foreign nationals that float around in the discourse about foreigners. A handful of respondents stated that they were neutral in how they perceived foreign nationals because the violence aspect of xenophobia is bad however the violence emerges not because of a pre-existing view of foreigners but from a lack of education that allows the South African nationals to take initiative and develop in the manner that foreign nationals manage to. The views of foreign nationals across Wits were views that were directly linked to the emergence of violence and as a means of understanding the narrative that was developed that allowed the emergence and re-emergence of the violence.

Conclusion

In this chapter, data analysis methods, study results and a discussion of the findings have been presented. The data presents the existence of difference amongst the students between what they understand xenophobia to mean. However, the findings illustrate an array of perceptions amongst the students about what characterised and caused xenophobic violence as well as how it links to the students' experiences at Wits. As illustrated in the findings social orientation, media representation, competition for resources and a perceived view of how foreigners behave played a large role in the outbreak of xenophobic violence in 2008. The findings also illustrated that these are the general attitudes around foreign nationals outside of Wits. The findings also found that the views of xenophobia at Wits differ based on various factors that will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6 - Discussion

Introduction

This discussion chapter will elaborate more and further analytically discusses the findings that emerged from the findings gathered in this project. The chapter aims to discuss the findings further and elaborate on what the respondents presented to further create an understanding of the students existing and developing perceptions as well as to create a discourse amongst individuals about the way the student body at the University of the Witwatersrand negotiate and understand the concept of xenophobia. Throughout the interviewing process, various disclaimers had to be stated to outline that this project is not implying the students at the university are in any way xenophobic or the institution itself. However, the aim of the study is to understand where international students position themselves in the institution because of existing xenophobia outside of campus and around South Africa and to what extent these outside views result in a perceived view of foreigners that travel outside of their home countries for work or employment.

Results

The results of the study clearly illustrate the way the students perceive the place of foreign nationals within the climate of xenophobic violence and the fees must fall protest. The findings outlined that the students believed that xenophobic violence is not based on the characteristics of foreign nations or their presence in South Africa but that the emerging violence against foreign nationals stems from deeper socio, political and economic problems that some of the South African people are subjected to. Within the context of the fees must fall movement the research found that the students held varied views on the reach of the representation of the foreign nationals, but the main view that emerged was that the FMF protest was in the interest of the South African student and the success of the movement would inspire and motivate other African countries to implement a similar system of free education.

PART I: STUDENTS AND XENOPHOBIA IN SA SOCIETY

Xenophobia

The concept of xenophobia is defined by Crowther (1995) as a focus on individuals that come from other countries and toward whom the natives possess a dislike and fear (Crowther, 1995). Scholars have also linked nativism to xenophobia to add to the description of the negative feelings natives have towards immigrants and immigration (Gellner, 1995). Higham (1988) brings forward this description of nativism in the United States Nativism is an intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign connections (Higham, 1998). Specific antagonisms vary in response to changes in the minor shifts of conditions throughout the lives of the natives; however, through the separate hostilities of nativism, there is the ideas and views of modern nationalism. Nativism thus in Higham's description depicts the fear of the natives threatening the distinct native way of life (Yakushko, 2009).

As illustrated by the data presented in the previous chapter all the respondents acknowledged the existence of xenophobia and xenophobic violence in South Africa. Through their acknowledgement of xenophobia, most of the respondents stated that xenophobia and the violence that emerged is not characterised solely by the foreigners but emerges from the disenchantment the South African people are beginning to have their circumstances. The respondents outlined key features of xenophobia and xenophobic violence. The respondents posited that xenophobia is characterised by various features such as; xenophobia being intrinsically linked to fear, accompanied with some pre-existing prejudices towards African foreign nationals.

International student's perception of xenophobia

The data illustrated that the general understanding and categorization of xenophobia is that it is not an overall fear of foreigners but a fear of other individuals {who are black Africans} that threaten ones' chances at economic growth. The general statements attached to the definition when asking the interview respondents how they perceived xenophobia, was that it is an uncalled-for act of violence that is informed by poverty and ignorance. As outlined by the respondents, the biggest characteristic of xenophobia is the location in which the attacks happen as well as the nature of the location. The nature of the location speaks to the existence of socio- economic disparities that marginalise the people in that area and, the existing socio-economic situation of the location in which the violence is taking place.

There was a consensus amongst the students that that Xenophobia is a fear of foreigners. Because of this view that xenophobia is an act of violence it is then viewed, by foreign nationals, as an economic fear and not one based on political or social views. However, in the

fear of foreigners in many cases is dependent on location whereby in the central areas and suburban areas there is no visible fear or dislike of foreigners whereas in the townships the fear itself becomes more pronounced and characterised as a phobia of other African nationals.

The international students that participated in the data collection process gave a differing account of what xenophobia is and what characterises xenophobia. The first characteristic of xenophobia that was brought forward is the location. The students believed that Xenophobia often occurs in localised high density areas, where social inequality is easily visible and there is competition for resources. This difference in the location of xenophobic violence further creates a different experience amongst all Africans living in South Africa. The consensus in the finding was that the differences between the African in the town and the African in the township are their different experiences. Despite the differences that exist in experience the universal experiences of xenophobia come from the immigration policies, whereby the policies that are extended to the black foreign national in South Africa differs from that of those of the white foreign national. Many students find that these immigration policies extended to the European foreign nationals are not as stringent as they are on the African foreign national. Thus, illustrating that although the xenophobic attacks in South Africa were characterised by the sporadic explosions of violence, there have been instances in which immigration policies have had certain elements of xenophobia

Violence vs. Fear

As emerged from the interviews most of the respondents defined xenophobia as a fear of foreigners. However, because this fear manifested itself through violence both physical and mental, there is a belief that the term xenophobia is not the appropriate term to use. One respondent likened the way xenophobia is viewed as a fear to a general phobia. Illustrating that if an individual has arachnophobia they just possess that fear, rational or otherwise. However, they are not compelled to react violently because of that fear and kill the spider. Thus, xenophobia has evolved from a psychological fear of the invasiveness of foreign individual to violent acts that aim to eradicate that in which one is afraid of (Interview 4).

"*…The "phobia" part of the word depicts xenophobia as just a fear and in turn, excludes the violence and prejudice often associated with it. This makes the term slightly less accurate especially to a person who has not come across anything else about xenophobia apart from the term itself…*" (Interview 2)

The argument between if xenophobia was characterised by fear or violence emerged continuously throughout the interviews.

> *"...Xenophobic acts of violence are a means of putting across a fear that is held by many South Africans of having foreigners in the country and the fear of what that means for them as uneducated and semi-skilled workers. This fear emerges when the foreigner that is similarly uneducated and semi-skilled is referred for the job because of their immigration status making them cheaper to employ…" (Interview,3)*

> *"… an act of violence that is pushed forward by poverty and ignorance of the foreign nationals in which they are perpetrating the violence against…" (Interview,3)*

Many of the interview respondents posited that xenophobia having elements of violence take away from what xenophobia is. The violence that has now characterised xenophobia is a reaction to the fears people have about their socio-economic conditions. When violence emerges, it illustrated the existence of a larger underlying problem that cannot be reduced solely to the fears possessed by individuals. However, to the socio-economic element and the way the needs of the South African people are met and catered for. Because of the large socio-economic disparities in South Africa, the violence against individuals in this case foreigners, that threaten their livelihoods and access to service delivery is inevitable. Individuals become increasingly disgruntled and disenfranchised in the economics, the social and political landscape of the country. Thus, labelling xenophobia as solely an activity linked to violence because of fear because of the presence of foreigners is flawed. Rather the interviews and surveys found that the fear that results in the violence is an underlying socio-economic fear of instability and uncertainty that is held by the people.

All the views presented by the students, of the prominence of violence when discussing xenophobia are linked to the notion that xenophobic violence is an act of violence that is pushed forward by poverty and ignorance of the foreign nationals in which they are perpetuating the violence against.

Perceptions of xenophobia based on existing narratives

I asked the students what they believed the existing narrative around foreign nationals was, I asked these questions to understand the way foreign nationals were understood and the way the foreign nationals themselves believe that the narrative around them was formed. In so doing this allowed an understanding to be framed as to how the students viewed the

representation and their positionality of foreign African nationals in the university unrest of 2015 and 2016.

The general view amongst the student population that formed the sample was the on the campus there is general integration amongst the foreign students and the local students, in socio and quasi-political interactions. However, many respondents outlined that although there is an existing integration between foreign nationals and local students there can be moments in which the students are not included. This is a result of; perceived privilege, a diverging history and existing perceptions that they have of foreign nationals that are outside the university as well as in the university. One respondent gave an example of a debate that the respondent and a South African student, where the South African student stated that:

'…foreigners are in South Africa and steal our jobs' (Interview 2)

Although this was said in jest the respondent believed that this discussion illustrated that many perceptions are informed based on the socio-economic condition under which individuals are living in. as well as the conditions in which they are familiar with or they themselves grew up in. Various survey responses outlined that the perception of foreign nationals emerged from their community and community engagement even when there were existing interactions with foreign nationals. However, upon coming to university further interactions and communication with various nationalities and various individuals altered these existing perceptions and views of foreign nationals.

PART II: STUDENTS AND XENOPHOBIA WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY

Wits as an institution

Per the findings, the respondents view that Wits at its core is an institution that aims at fostering an integrated international interaction amongst its student and staff body. Wits hosts a population of over 30 thousand students, per the enrollment centre over 70 percent of those students are African with the rest comprising of Coloured, Indian and white students. The respondents stated that this diversity that exists at the university is maintained through the university's attempts at maintaining inclusivity and ensuring that there is limited defamatory speech and behaviours. The respondents illustrated that although the institution aims for integration there has been no explicit discussion or actions implemented in relation to the xenophobic violence. The respondents stated that Wits does not negotiate around the

xenophobia because they have not taken a visible stance through the creation of an existing framework that can ensure that there is no development of xenophobic idea and attitudes that manifest themselves in the institutions. Furthermore, a debate amongst the respondents illustrated that the institution, because of its size, can be isolating if experiences are not addressed within the public space, the respondents state that this isolation of experience results in an already existing isolation amongst the students, and isolation based on the sphere of influences that develop amongst students.

However as illustrated in the findings the students were in consensus with the view that the institution aims to protect its image and its academic standing. As a means of maintaining these reputations, the institution publicly condemns xenophobic violence. However, the respondents state that despite the public condemnation the university has not created a means of ensuring the safety of the students that are feeling the pressure of the xenophobic attacks.

I asked the students if they believed that Wits made any strides in attempting to combat the emergence of the ideas of xenophobia and attitudes of xenophobia around the school. These questions were asked as a means of developing an understanding of how the institution managed to negotiate around the xenophobic violence that occurred in 2016, as well as attempting to understand the way the manner Wits dealt with the issues of xenophobia impacted the way students engaged in the FMF protest as well as the way the FMF protest combatted or ignored xenophobic sentiments and narratives. These questions examined a willingness of the students in questioning and critically discussing the integrative nature of the institutions of higher learning.

FMF and decolonisation of the institution

The fees must fall movement comes from the understanding that the youth of South Africa continue to fall privy to the whims of government, be it in educational reform or economic reform the marginalised black individuals remain the most vulnerable people (Webber, 2013). When asking the international students about their feelings on where the international students were positioned in the protests both the Rhodes must fall and the fees must fall and how they believed this positioning reflected on the xenophobic attitudes that exist outside of the university in many of the surrounding communities the responses varied but overlapped. The fees must fall protests in the eyes of many international students is a movement that is

not unique to South Africa but responds to a problem faced by many sub-Saharan African nations.

However, if spearheaded by South Africa in finding a solution to the access to education, there is a chance in proceeding with a region-wide solution. This was one of the main motivating factors for the involvement of international students in the protests. However, the view and the assumptions of the way the protests would progress, and the reality in which they did progress was different where most of the students. Both local and international felt that the international students were sidelined and not included in the protests. Majority of the respondents to these interviews and surveys believed that the students being side-lined from the protests, stems from the students existing perceptions that exist in the larger community of foreigners and xenophobia.

'…Some even see foreign students at South African universities as people stealing education opportunities for their fellow South Africans. Inclusion has been boxed into one where an international student is expected to support but not play an active role…'

Because of this, the protests marginalised and ostracised the voice of many foreign students and in so doing affected the ability of many international students to return and further their studies. Many students were unable to obtain visas to return to complete their degrees because of their forms not being processed before the deadline. However, the struggle of international students and local students in relation to fees is not a new phenomenon to the university. Amongst international students in the institution the belief is that the exclusion of the international students, as active participants results in the existing perception of the students. That has been developed to persist and be recreated by creating the assumption of the existence of an "other" that is drastically different from the norm that is expected. This is further elaborated by many surveys respondents stating that the main existing difference between the South African individual and the local individual, is the existence in differing ideas of what is deemed as culturally acceptable and what is socially acceptable.

Of the international students' that responded to both the interviews and the surveys, the majority said that apart from being isolated from the protests that they were not included in the demands and in the aims of the protests. The reason behind this perceived isolation and lack of inclusion comes from the concerns of the international students being overlooked or entirely ignored.

Per the interview respondents in the fees must fall protests there was the debate between who are the insiders and who falls under the category of the outsiders. An insider-outsider problem whereby international students tend to find themselves as outsiders as the belief amongst international students is that when it is appropriate for them to be in the movement they are involved however when it is not they are excluded from the movement. Further, the needs of international students stem from a place whereby they feel compelled to choose what is best for them despite what the entire student populous is demanding. However, although various numbers of the international students chose to remain at a physical distance from the protest, as the consensus amongst the international students that are outsiders in the protests and they have no place in placing any demands they engaged intellectually.

Decolonisation of university spaces

The fees must fall and subsequent decolonization projects outlined that if the nature of the education that students receive remains Eurocentric. The view amongst the students during the transformation and fees must fall arguments was that the educated generation is no better that the colonised generation in their thinking

The general understanding amongst the respondents of the aim of decolonisation of university spaces is that the process calls for an encouragement of more indigenous knowledge, promoting African ideas and African people. Therefore, when discussing the link between xenophobia and the decolonisation of the university spaces the respondents believed that there should be a link. The belief that there should be a link comes from the understanding that the acts of xenophobic violence are acts that are perpetrated against black African nationals and no other foreigners. Thus, the respondents believe that there should be a link between the discussions to accurately reach transformation within all universities.

Despite the students believing that there should be a link between the decolonisation project and xenophobia, they believe that there is no existing link between the two. With the argument of decolonization, there is a general idea that the decolonisation and transformation of university spaces should result in more unity rather than fostering increased divisions, as the ideas of decolonisation are often bound in the ideas of African unity. Decolonisation of the university has a direct link to the fees must fall movement as the process of decolonisation in Africa was built on compromise and in South Africa, this compromise came in the form of socio-economic compromise. Through freedom negotiation process the minor nuances were not accurately discussed; such as the notion that there would be free education

for all. This promise was not fully discussed and there was little to no discussion of how this aim would be reached and how the information that is disseminated would be relevant to all the students that came from different backgrounds.

'...many of the elite in the post-apartheid era are still the elite today. There has been no economic reconfiguration in South Africa…' (Interview 4)

Decolonisation of the university spaces needs to be discussed and achieved as it would result in a deconstruction and the ability to find ways in which the demands of free education must be achieved. However, reaching decolonisation is not a simple task as it requires all individuals to move back to the drawing board and reach a consensus.

South African exceptionalism race and gender

Throughout the data collection processes, there was no discussion on the ideas of race or gender in relation to xenophobia and those that fall prey to xenophobic violence. There was no mention amongst the respondents of how the ideas of South African exceptionalism impacted the way xenophobia was perceived or understood.

Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed the themes that emerged at the data collection and data analysis phase of this research. This chapter illustrated and elaborated on how the students responded to the ideas of xenophobia and placed them in the context of the university unrest. The themes of xenophobia and how the students understood xenophobia were discussed analysed as well as the differing ideas that emerged because of the existence of different perceptions and different ideas of how the presents of foreign nationals impacts South African societies. The FMF and RMF movements illustrated these differing ideas and perceptions as they emerged through the protests and students attempted to negotiate around them. Throughout this discussion I tried to bring to light the converging and diverging views that are exist amongst the students. These views were evident amongst the international students and the South African national students, but similarly visible in groups that believe they held similar identities. This chapter also discussed how students understand and characterise violence and the decolonisation of tertiary institutions in the context of xenophobia. The chapter further brings forward the discussion amongst the respondents on how Wits as an institution negotiates around and addresses the xenophobia that characterises South African Society.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

The first section of the chapter will examine the ways in which the argument on decolonisation and its link to xenophobia has previously been discussed and how the argument has developed during the University Protests. The second section of this chapter will present a summary of the study and the findings collected from the data collection phase. The research demonstrated and discussed the way students' perceptions of foreign nationals and xenophobia develop and evolve. In attempting to understand these developing perceptions and to further understand if these perceptions are altered with communication, and interactions with foreign nationals on and around the university campus. The two sections in this chapter include a summary of the chapters in this report, and the brief analysis of decolonisation and xenophobia. The summary aims to shed light on the arguments that emerged in the findings. The brief analysis aims to understand the where there should be existing linkages. This research paper problematized the definition of xenophobia and illustrated the students' definitions of xenophobia to seek to understand xenophobia through a different lens.

Decolonisation and the link to Xenophobia

Relying exclusively on a western epistemology as a means of teaching in South African universities contributes to the perpetuation of a form of colonial violence. This is because of the assumption that adequate explanations can be given for any given phenomena through one world view or one cultural standpoint (Phillips, 2005). The colonial and apartheid curriculum taught in South Africa has promoted white supremacy and dominance as well as creating a stereotype of Africa. The current higher education curriculum still largely reflects these colonial and apartheid world views and is disconnected from African realities,

including the lived experiences of various black South Africans (Heleta, 2016). Sarder (2008) argues that since Fanon wrote his book black skins white masks much has changed in society, however, many of the same structures of oppression and injustice remain the same. This is the case in post-apartheid South Africa where political freedom has been achieved but structural imbalances, inequality and injustice remain a constant in the lives of black South Africans (Sardar, 2008).

Calls for the decolonisation and transformation of tertiary institutions have been advocating for curriculum changes in tertiary institutions around South Africa, and for the creation of a more inclusive and representative employment policy. A representative at the University of Cape Town stated that existing narratives in tertiary institutions silence the voice of the African child (The Oppidan Press, 2015). Transform Wits is a body at Wits University that rejects the ideas of post- racialism, as these ideas have not brought with them the restructuring of the system that they had promised. The calls to decolonise Wits University and other universities calls for an altering of the homogenisation of the experiences of the students and called for creating a space that fosters the understanding of difference, thus moving away from the view that the university is cosmopolitan university. Decolonisation and transformation aim to relocate the African student back in the African continent and not isolate one from the other. The arguments presented on the decolonisation of tertiary institutions outlines that the knowledge production in many of South Africans universities emerges from a western lens and creates gaps in the knowledge that the students have. Eurocentrism involves creating a Europe and west centred knowledge that proceeds to erase other cultural contributions to the development of that knowledge and takes them as belonging to a western form of thinking. Decolonisation calls to the academics to challenge and reflect on the instruction of the university and how it related to the specific context and location of South Africa and Africa. The relevance of European and American knowledge is questioned in these calls for decolonisation, as it emerges that there is limited knowledge of African scholarship and the experience of the rest of the African continent both past and present. Because of this decolonisation calls for the contestation and the rethinking of hegemonic knowledge. Per McKinser, as quoted in Heleta (2016), the South African education system has remains a colonial outpost where hegemonic identities are reproduced rather than eliminated (Heleta, 2016).

South African students and some academics began the campaign in 2015 for the decolonisation of university spaces. This call demanded a dismantling of the curriculum in

South African universities that teaches western dominated thought. The students have called for the end of domination by European world views in higher education and for the incorporation of South African, African and global perspectives, to be the central focuses of teaching and research in South Africa. Gqola states that since 1994 South African universities have done little to open their universities and their students to more knowledge about Africa. This contributes to what she believes is ignorance that South African students have of the continent that they are living in. This ignorance allows for the faceless African man and women to become throw away people (Gqola, 2008).

Throughout this research it has been made clear that there is no existing link between the ideas of decolonisation and the dismantling of xenophobic ideas. However, there was a consensus amongst the students that there should be a link and to establish this link there must be a discussion about the goals and aims of decolonisation and the nature of decolonisation. Achille Mbebe (2015) outlined that in Fanons observation of the processes of decolonisation or africanisation in African countries resulted in xenophobia. This was because the process of africanisation drove out foreigners and these foreigners often were African foreigners (Mbembe, 2015). This illustration outlined that the observation made by Fanon was that there is a direct link to xenophobia and decolonisation in instances where calls for decolonisation result in xenophobic attacks. However, in the university context the decolonisation of the university calls for a restructuring of the existing curriculum that isolates South Africa from Africa and fosters the ignorance that occurs because of this. Decolonising the university through the curriculum will foster the transformation of the university, thus providing an understanding of the African continent that would challenge existing ideas of xenophobia. Producing challenging ideas to the notion of xenophobia will alter the perception that students have of foreign nationals in and around the university. The link that exists between xenophobia and calls for decolonisation and transformation is a link between knowledge and education. Developing Better and diversified knowledge that will ensure that xenophobic ideas and perceptions no longer develop amongst the population.

The majority of the respondents believed that there should exist a link between decolonisation and xenophobia because the decolonisation project would foster unity amongst the African people. However, the clear majority of the respondents stated that there were no visible links because, the ideas of xenophobia and xenophobic violence are based in Africa, there is no increased unity and the two movements are entirely different movements that do not aim to deal with similar issues.

Summary

Xenophobia is a longstanding issue not only in South Africa but worldwide. South Africa, however, presents a special case of xenophobia in which xenophobic violence is directed at other African nationals and specific to location. Location is an important factor in the outbreak of xenophobic violence, the students argued that there is little to no violence in what are perceived as the more developed towns. However, within the townships and squatter settlements there is increased outbreaks of violence and an increased possibility of xenophobic violence. Mngxitama argues that these location specific outbreaks of violence are because squatter settlements house the disenfranchised groups in the South African society that did not benefit from democracy. Depending on location one can examine the economic situation and link it back to the outbreak of xenophobic violence. The findings illustrated that the emergence of xenophobic violence is characterised by the structure of the society in which the violence is taking place. Particularly the social and economic situation of the individuals within these specific locations. The findings of the research have clearly illustrated how the university students at Wits perceived xenophobia and managed to conceptualise it within the context of the FMF and RMF protests. Despite the existence of feelings of hate towards foreign nationals the findings outlined that these feelings of hate stem from feelings of fear and ignorance. As outlined in the introduction and throughout the literature the locals do not understand the foreign nationals and this lack of understanding results in violent reactions and in turn violent actions.

I have illustrated throughout the data analysis chapter the way students develop their perceptions of foreign nationals and the ideas of xenophobia. In this illustration, it was made clear that many of the students develop their perceptions from both dominant community engagement as well as media portrayal. Dominant community engagement influenced the manner that the students interacted with foreign nationals. The media solidified the existing foundation of how they perceived and understood foreign nationals.

The findings noted that within the discourse of xenophobia perception is key to the development and dismantling of xenophobic views and violence. Firstly, the perception of foreign nationals results in the development of violent sentiments dependant on the way that perception is understood and disseminated. Secondly the similar way the perceptions developed can assist in dismantling xenophobic ideas and countering the emergence of xenophobic violence. Within this analysis the students outlined that the dominant discourse

surrounding xenophobia is a discourse of fear and the existence of fear within the communities. The fear that was illustrated throughout the findings rests on the instability of the socio-economic existence of individuals in certain locations.

The overall views amongst the respondents illustrated a consensus that international students were not adequately represented in the student movements of 2015 and 2016. This limited representation was a result of the international students isolating themselves because they believed that the protests were not in their best interest academically and financially. As well as the limited representation, there was a view amongst the students that the international students do not fall into the constituency of those that are protesting the need for free education. The data analysis further found that the international students did not engage as there were differing views on the insider and outsider argument, the international students believed that they fell into the category of outsiders. However, there was minimal consensus amongst a few of the respondents that the gains of the protest would extend to the entire student population irrespective of race.

Throughout the research paper I attempted to understand the ideas of South African exceptionalism and if these ideas filtered into the emergence of ideas of xenophobia and xenophobic violence. The literature affirmed the view that South African exceptionalism filters into the emergence of xenophobia. The literature outlined that violence increases because of the views that South Africa is an exceptional country. However, the violence is not limited to the violence perpetrated against foreigners but stated that the violence is also violence that occurs amongst South African nationals. In the responses, I received from the students there is no mention of South African exceptionalism even when asked.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Interview Schedule

1. Are you an international or a local student and where from?
2. What do you understand xenophobia to mean and do you think calling it xenophobia is accurate?
3. What would you propose to call violence of this nature and why?
4. Let's discuss the nature of Wits as an institution -> how does Wits define and negotiate through and around xenophobia. By this I mean are their policies that exacerbate or combat the ideas and thoughts of xenophobia that occur around the institution and at an institutional level i.e. employment opportunities etc.
5. Have you been actively engaged in the fees must fall protests or Rhodes must fall protests (on social media or on the ground)
6. What motivated you to join the protests or what motivated you to stay away from the protests
7. Where do you think, international students are positioned in the protests and how does this impact the challenging or combatting of xenophobia?
8. Further how does this positioning of international students in the protests impact the way students conceptualise xenophobia?
9. As a student at an international university how do you conceptualise xenophobia in the context of these protests and where do your understanding of xenophobia emerge from?
10. What do you feel is the basis of the difference amongst students and where they are positioned in the protests?
11. Does such difference differ based on categories such as race gender sexual orientation etc.
12. Are you familiar with the notion of South African exceptionalism - the idea that based on historical experiences South Africa is an exceptional country with an exceptional history and future in comparison to the rest of Africa. If so, do you believe that this lays a role in the way difference is addressed and understood
13. What do you think the FMF and RMF protests stand for?
14. Is there a link between xenophobia and decolonisation (of university spaces) based on your understanding of the calls for decolonisation?
15. How do you think the narrative around xenophobia and foreign nationals is framed and allows for developing ideas and attitudes?
16. What in your opinion is the/ what is your general understand and perception of foreign nationals?

Appendix 2

Survey

1. Are you an international individual or a South African local?
    - International
    - South African
2. What are your feelings towards foreign nationals?
    - Negative
    - Positive
    - Neutral
    - no feelings
3. How did you develop these feelings (through which medium do your initial feelings towards foreign nationals emerge)?
    - Media – visual news, social media, print media
    - Community exposure of dominant opinions
4. Do you interact with foreign nationals in or around Campus?
    - Yes
    - No
5. Do you believe that you are drastically different as a collective or as an individual to other African nationals?
    - Yes
    - No
6. If so why

7. How do you conceptualise xenophobia?

8. How do you understand the increasing emergence of public violence against foreign African nationals?

9. Do you feel that xenophobia is that most accurate term to use to define the violence against foreign nationals?
    - Yes
    - no
10. What do you think characterises xenophobic violence (what are the factors that you believe cause the outbreak of xenophobia)?

11. In your view, does xenophobia target: specific races, nationalities or genders?
    - Yes
    - No

12. If there are different targets why do you feel this is the case?

13. Having been in University do you feel that you have developed a different identity than those in your community or social circles towards foreign nationals?
    - Yes
    - no
14. If so why and how?

15. Have you been actively involved in the fees must fall movement and the movement for the transformation of universities?
    - Yes
    - No
16. In your opinion where international students represented?
    - Yes
    - No
    - In a way
    - I do not know

17. How so?

18. Where did you position yourself in the protest?

19. Does this positioning in the protest influence the way your identity is framed? How was it framed or how was it not framed?

20. If so in what way does this identity alter your view of foreign nationals if at all

Appendix 3
Participant Information and Consent Form

Participant Information sheet

Debates around Xenophobia in University Spaces through the Context of Decolonisation and transformation

Invitation

You are invited to take part in a study on Debates around Xenophobia. Whether you take part is your choice. If you don't want to take part, you don't have to give a reason. If you do want to take part now, but change your mind later, you can pull out of the study at any time.

This Participant Information Sheet will help you decide if you'd like to take part. It sets out why we are doing the study, what your participation would involve. We will go through this information with you and answer any questions you may have. You do not have to decide today whether you will participate in this study. If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign the Consent Form on the last page of this document. You will be given a copy of both the Participant Information Sheet and the Consent Form to keep.

This document is 3 pages long, including the Consent Form. Please make sure you have read and understood all the pages.

Aim of the Research

The proposed research aims to investigate how a section of university-going youth in South Africa view, understand and define the phenomena of violence against foreign black Africans. The research will further investigate how these differences are negotiated in the era of university unrest and calls for transformation. This research attempts to understand the range of perceptions of xenophobia held by members of this social group allowing for a better understanding of the way students perceive negotiating difference in the age of transformation. Transformation has been at the forefront of South African universities with the *Rhodes must fall* and *fees must fall* being at the pinnacle of these movements.

What will happen to me if you take part?

- You will be actively involved in the research for the duration of the interviews after the interviews have been completed you will no longer be an active participant in the research.
- The interview process will take up to a day, however there will be leeway if more time is needed
- Personal information obtained through the interviews will be kept in a password protected computer and when the research is being written down your identity will remain anonymous.
- Participation is Voluntary and if at any point you wish to withdraw from the research you are welcome to do so
- You have the right to any information obtained about you in this research

Consent Form

Please tick to indicate you consent to the following

I have read, or have had read to me in my first language, and I understand the Participant Information Sheet.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I am satisfied with the answers I have been given regarding the study and I have a copy of this consent form and information sheet.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without this affecting my medical care.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I consent to the research staff collecting and processing my information.	Yes ☐	No ☐
If I decide to withdraw from the study, I agree that the information collected about me up to the point when I withdraw may continue to be processed.	Yes ☐	No ☐

I understand that my participation in this study is confidential and that no material, which could identify me personally, will be used in any reports on this study.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I know who to contact if I have any questions about the study in general.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I understand my responsibilities as a study participant.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I wish to receive a summary of the results from the study.	Yes ☐	No ☐

Declaration by participant:

I hereby consent to take part in this study.

Participant's name:

Signature: Date:

Declaration by member of research team:

I have given a verbal explanation of the research project to the participant, and have answered the participant's questions about it.

I believe that the participant understands the study and has given informed consent to participate.

Researcher's name:

Signature: Date: